

The challenge of China

There is a measure of irony in the fact that India Gandhi now talks of "unity" and "discipline" as a way out of India's profound economic troubles. These are precisely the goals stressed by India's rival neighbor — the People's Republic of China.

As one watches the crisis of democracy in India — and the growing surge toward authoritarianism in many corners of the globe — the dilemma of the modern age is driven home with renewed force: Can a nation burdened with poverty, illiteracy and a feudal social system lift itself into the 20th century without resorting to authoritarian methods and force?

A number of emerging countries today making perceptible economic headway — Iran, South Korea, Brazil, Taiwan — have to lesser or greater extent sacrificed some values of individual freedom. Some, like Indonesia and Pakistan, are today less authoritarian than in the past. But, as Pat Moynihan, the new U.S. chief delegate to the UN, said recently, "Liberal democracy is not an accident of history. There aren't many of us left in the world. Democracies seem to disappear. I don't see any new ones emerging."

It has long been fashionable to draw comparisons between India, "the world's most populous democracy," and China, that revolutionary colossus of 900 million people. The hope has been that India would eventually prove that democracy could provide both freedom and food.

Yet a quarter of a century after India became independent and the Chinese Communists came to power in Peking the challenge of Maoist China remains formidable. It resides not in military might or aggressive foreign policies — but in the communist system it is forging, and the potential appeal it has for developing nations.

As a series in this newspaper bears out, China has made creditable economic progress. It is feeding and clothing its people. Within its limited goals, its industrial growth has been quite good and it has managed this without foreign aid. Society is unified, orderly and disciplined. People's energies are bent toward national goals that will benefit all.

The price the Chinese are paying for such progress is of course the total loss of political and intellectual freedom. The individual is subordinated to the needs of the state. As a contemporary Chinese poet chillingly puts it, "I would like to be a tiny screw so that they can put me where they want and screw me in tightly."

Such a sentiment is abhorrent to those who know freedom. Yet it is hard to argue the

democratic processes to a destitute, backward people who see more rapid solutions in authoritarian methods. The crying need of many poor countries is how to instill the national discipline and cooperation essential to economic growth while permitting citizens the greatest possible degree of personal liberty. Portugal's militant rulers want to do just that but the goal seems difficult of attainment.

One can sympathize with Mrs. Gandhi's appeal for discipline and sacrifice. Unless Indians put their shoulder to the wheel, rid their institutions of crippling corruption, and, as a New Delhi government order reads, "shake off the old lethargy," there is little hope for advancement.

But how much better for India and the world if it could achieve these goals not through coercion from above but through individual self-discipline, through the willingness of every citizen and every segment of society — press, industry, farmers — to impose their own constraints and moderate their demands. Democracy after all does not mean irresponsibility.

At the same time, may it not be forgotten that only in an atmosphere of freedom can a nation nurture those creative ideas that alone will ultimately break down all limitations, be they economic or social or cultural. The great gift of democracy is that it enables the individual to strive for and reach his highest potential. Surely the point can be made that the very technology and products of industrialization the emerging third world nations seek were developed initially in free, democratic societies.

It is to be earnestly hoped Mrs. Gandhi will choose to return her country to democratic rule — and give it another opportunity to demonstrate that the Indian, not the Chinese, way is the hope of the future.

"Dragons are real after all..."



The Christian Science

What that handshake in space represents

For a short while at least the world can pause from its carboard troubles and let its attention soar skyward.

The Apollo-Soyuz flight does not have quite the heart-stopping drama of the first moon landing. The project did not require much new equipment and it is not expected to yield significant scientific results. But it does demonstrate that the world's rival superpowers can collaborate in some fields. If successful, it should help warm the air of détente.

This does not mean that after the American

and Russian spacemen shake hands 140 miles over the earth, the way is automatically open to the joint exploration of space. Nor that the Russians will abandon their expansionist drive in the Middle East, Western Europe, and Asia. Nor that the Kremlin will suddenly allow political and intellectual freedom at home. Nor that it will stop looking for the collapse of the capitalist system.

The joint space mission serves the Russians well. It has gained them exposure to American space facilities and technology. And, while the

object of the flight is to test a docking system that can be used to rescue, the superiority of American technology places the United States in a position to effect such rescue.

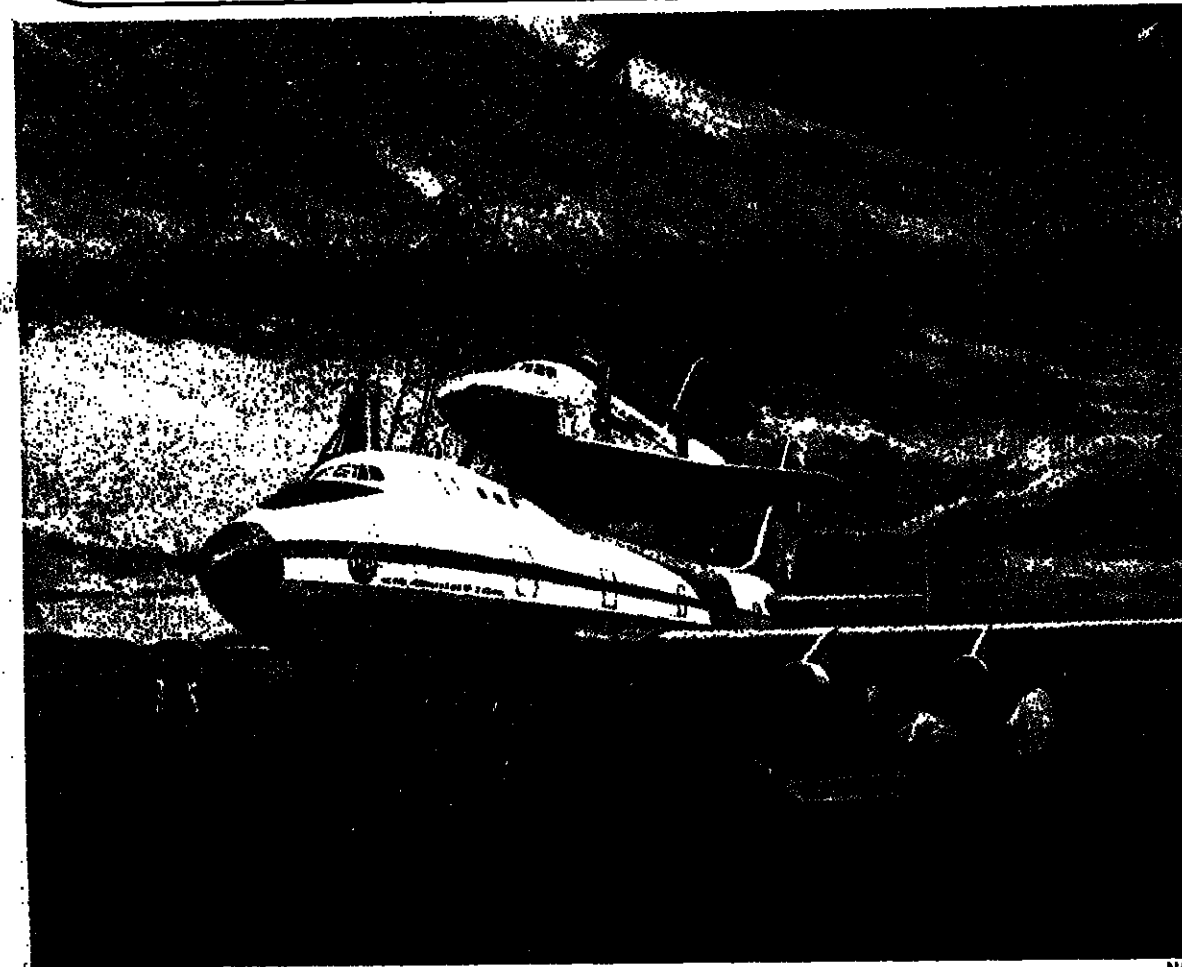
Nonetheless, Apollo-Soyuz is America, too. The rationale of détente in the nuclear age a policy of accommodation better promoted peace than one of hostile confrontation. It is to engage the Russians constructively in an international scene that is not so wise to encourage a gradual erosion of authoritarian system through people and ideas across borders. Invites aggressiveness, and responsibility.

Hence, while Americans who abhor the despotism of the Soviet Union must remain vigilant against Soviet aggressiveness — as writer Alexander L. Wyn eloquently warns — they must not let their guard down. They must not let their guard down. They must not let their guard down.

Apollo-Soyuz yielded much over the long five years the project has taken. Each side had to accommodate the other in scheduling events in the releasing information to the public, signing safety equipment. The Russians are not totally open in showing their space facilities but they are more than before. And for the first time, scientists will see a Russian space station.

In short, the scientific importance of the flight should not be overestimated. It is a symbol of what can be accomplished when men work together; it holds out hope both in space and on earth.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



Artist's drawing of space shuttle being lowered onto Boeing 747 for piggy-back test launch

Europe gets in on the space shuttle

By David F. Salisbury
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Johnson Space Center, Houston

As Apollo flew on and Soyuz headed for earth to the next step toward an even wider international era in space.

Although it will not occur until the 1980s, the step will break the monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union in the arena of manned space flight. It will put the first European in orbit.

The mission involves the American space shuttle — a stubby-winged glider about the size of a small jet

airliner — and a European-built space laboratory called Spacelab, which will fit into the shuttle cargo bay. The European astronaut will not be a pilot, but a specialist who operates the laboratory.

Bernard Deloffre, director of the space lab program of the new European Space Agency (ESA), and Heinz Stoewer, the project manager, met with National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) officials while American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts exchanged medals and tree seeds and made flowery speeches about détente and cooperation in space.

The design and building of Spacelab was the topic of the ESA-NASA discussion. It is basically a long, narrow box which the shuttle can carry. The lab will serve as everything from a small factory to a test unit for the possibility of space manufacturing to an orbiting astronomical observatory. The U.S. Air Force also has expressed interest in the lab, says Mr. Deloffre.

Because of the difficulties of building space hardware, this laboratory is expected to cost roughly \$400 million — not counting inflation. The first lab is expected to be delivered to NASA in 1978.

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President Ford sees light on the Middle East horizon

By Geoffrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President Ford is "encouraged" at movement toward a Middle East settlement, saying "it is a lot closer than it was two months ago."

In a wide-ranging interview last week with correspondents of this newspaper and two others, Mr. Ford's responses also contained a subtle but unmistakable theme of continued pressure on Israel.

He referred twice to the necessity of a "comprehensive" program being submitted, probably at Geneva, to achieve peace. If current talks fail, in diplomatic terms, observers say, this is part of the U.S. warning to Israel to make concessions or see the U.S. take a more far-reaching overall plan for settlement to Geneva — where Moscow undoubtedly would press for changes favorable to the Arabs.

Up to now, according to Mr. Ford, the Soviet role has been "very quiet."

Mr. Ford, interviewed by this correspondent, by George F. Will of the Washington Post Writers' Group, and by William Anderson of the Chicago Tribune also said he had "talked to the Secretary" (of State Henry Kissinger) about the possibility of bartering U.S. grain for Soviet oil. At another point he said, "We have talked about it in general without getting into specifics. . . . The Russians do have a sizable crude-oil capacity, but we have not got into specifics on that."

Whether the Soviets need U.S. grain badly enough to agree to any kind of barter deal is not known here. In recent years, Moscow has tended to turn away from barter deals, knowledgeable observers report.

However, the President has looked into the possibility with Dr. Kissinger.

Asked about concern among Central Intelligence Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and military sources that intelligence sources might be drying up because of intense publicity and congressional probes

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What each side will gain from Helsinki summit

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

For the United States: a mixed bag of diplomatic concessions and assurances that human rights will be more respected in Eastern Europe from now on.

For the Soviet Union: a recognition of the post-World War II map of Europe, including boundaries in Eastern Europe that resulted from Soviet force at the end of the war.

These, in brief, are the benefits both sides look to gain as a result of the long-awaited agreement on a 100-page "charter" now reported ready for signing at a 35-nation summit in Helsinki, July 30.

President Ford will visit Warsaw, Belgrade, and Bucharest while he is in Europe for the signing. Such a presidential journey would underline the common interest in Washington and these East European capitals in having the United States stand in support of freer human rights, despite its signature on the "charter."

The carefully worded White House announcement says Mr. Ford's presence in Helsinki will reflect the U.S. view that the agreements represent "a positive step in our country's efforts to build a more stable and productive East-West relationship."

Diplomatic observers here emphasize that the agreements to be signed do not constitute a legally binding treaty, they are simply declarations of intent.

For the Soviet Union, the declarations clearly mean that the Western world has in effect written off all the territories annexed by Moscow after World War II.

The State Department sees no such commitment. It emphasizes the concessions the Soviets have been willing to make to obtain the Helsinki summit. For years Moscow argued in favor of a strictly European agreement, excluding Washington. In the end it agreed to include both the U.S. and Canada.

Other concessions included the four-power agreement on the status of Berlin, concluded several years ago and now said to be working satisfactorily in the interests of the West. Another concession was to agree to discuss mutual and balanced force reductions between the Eastern bloc and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This discussion has made less headway.

Since then the Soviets have also agreed to endorse the principle of "peaceful change" in Europe. Moscow originally insisted that the language of the agreements precludes any further change in European borders — i.e., in the borders of East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia in particular.

But the West held out for recognition that change might still arise in the future from peaceful talks between East and West Germany. The Soviets eventually agreed.

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Why Moscow wants a European conference

The Russians have pressed for an all-European conference on security and cooperation since 1954. After years of talk and wrangling — and dragging a reluctant United States along — the end is in sight. An East-West summit is around the corner.

It is in the area of human rights and East-West conflicts that the West Europeans pressed hardest. Although the declaration that emerged is filled with ambiguities, it reflects some concessions from the Soviet side on such matters as "freedom of families, marriages of Soviet and Western citizens, access to information, and travel." Some improvement is also promised for foreign journalists in Moscow. Critics may feel the Russians are still too unyielding in this area, but any step of liberalization is welcome.

Perhaps the greatest value of the conference is in its benefit to the East European communists. With the invasion of Czechoslovakia still in mind, the Romanians and Yugoslavs, especially, are eager to have

that might be sought in the future. The Western nations, in turn, accepted that there would be no change of frontiers by force.

The term "security" is of course a misnomer. The conference has not dealt with military matters directly. The one small thing

Moscow notarize the principle of "inviolability of frontiers." They are also interested in future follow-up meetings at which the results of the conference can be reviewed and the Russians held to account. Certainly it is in the West's interest, too, to give the East

Europeans freedom of movement, which to build. The important thing is that the West not let down its guard in a surge of euphoria. The Russians have not abandoned their political goals. They would like to tell Western Europe that thinking there is no longer a Soviet military threat and therefore no longer a need for a strong political and military alliance.

It would be grave for the West if that strategy worked. Now that the European conference is soon over, the time has come to press the Russians in the areas that really count — the SALT talks and the aborted negotiations for mutual reduction of forces in central Europe. Until mutual trust is established through concrete steps such as these, the flag of vigilance must fly high.

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How left-wing extremists worm way to power in Britain

By Francis Reany
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London

There are signs that the tide is turning against extreme left-wing influence inside Britain's Labour Party. Following their defeat in the referendum on the Common Market (which they, like Moscow, wanted Britain to quit), and now the government's plan to curb runaway wage demands, the leftists' claim to wisdom is being queried more and more by rank and file Labour supporters.

It would be a mistake to think the extremists are simply agents of the Moscow line. Some are. But there has long been a native streak of radicalism in British politics, and to this has been added the influence of theorists from Holland, Germany, France, Cuba and China too.

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Edward Heath: MPs cheered

Heath transcends party differences in much-praised anti-inflation speech

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CYPRUS:
UNEASY
PEACE

It is now a year since Greek officers on Cyprus overthrew President Makarios, thus precipitating the Turkish invasion. John Cooley, a Monitor correspondent, has just returned from the island and describes what the situation is like on Cyprus now.

See Page 16.

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FOCUS

Please DO squeeze the tomatoes

By David R. Francis

Canton, Massachusetts
The grocer, according to legend, is always telling housewives to please not squeeze the tomatoes. But some growers have bought expensive machines to do just that.

Hair shampoo makers have spent thousands of dollars for similar equipment to pull a single hair from a person's scalp.

Other machines have been built to squish peas, puncture wet tissues, measure the force it takes to remove film from a Polaroid camera pack, and compare the sharpness of various razor blades.

These and thousands of other measuring and testing tasks provide the market for an industry with about \$1.6 billion in sales worldwide, \$1 billion of these in the United States. One study, by New York market researchers Frost & Sullivan, reckons the world market will grow to \$2.6 billion by 1980.

"We are going through a materials revolution," says Harold Hindman, president of Instron Corporation, a small multinational firm headquartered here, with some 13,000 installations of its testing equipment worldwide. "We desperately need to know the basic physical properties of materials in order to predict their behavior under conditions in which they have not been used before."

Mr. Hindman, one of the pioneers in applying electronics to testing equipment, was referring to the need for materials to

withstand the stresses and strains inside a nuclear reactor or space vehicle.

However, the bulk of Instron equipment is used to test materials or products for less exotic purposes.

For instance, tomato growers pushed probes into their produce to find out which variety of tomatoes has skins tough enough to survive long hauls and which has the best texture inside.

The shampoo maker wanted to be sure his product doesn't weaken hair. The machine that was used measures the force needed to yank single hairs from a woman's head before and after washing.

A major pea processor, Green Giant, squashes peas in an Instron machine to measure their maturity and tenderness before and after processing. This helps the firm find the best processing method and grade the product.

Tissue manufacturers want to make sure their product is strong enough to withstand hard sneezes. So they test the "wet strength" of different thicknesses.

Mr. Hindman says there are many other uses for his machines. For example:

• A major baker tests how quickly its bread goes stale by measuring the force used to crush slices on succeeding days.

• A shrimp processor uses a set of artificial teeth to measure the texture of its product. It helps them determine the best methods for freezing and cooking.

• One meat packer checks tenderness by

measuring the force necessary to push a probe into samples of meat.

• Makers of fishing equipment test strength, stretch, and uniformity of all types of fishing line. They also check that their fishing reels have a smooth drag by measuring the variations in force as a line is pulled from the reel.

• Boatmakers test the strength and stretch of snail fabric and puncture resistance of fiberglass hulls.

Instron's instruments are sensitive enough to test the strength of a single fiber of fine wool (about 1 gram of force) or the force needed to crush rocks (up to millions of pounds of pressure).

Mr. Hindman's business may be a testing one. But even in this recession, sales haven't dropped off significantly, he says.



Nailing down the frontiers of E. Europe

By Joseph C. Harsch

Washington
The first reason for the President's trip to Europe is to attend the formal signing of a declaration on security and cooperation in Europe in Helsinki next week. But he is including in his itinerary stops in Warsaw, Bucharest, and Belgrade. And in those extra stops lies the really interesting part of the trip.

The signing in Helsinki is routine. The shaping of the declaration has been in the works for nearly two years. It reflects a groping of the contenders in the receding "cold war" for a more stable (or less dangerously unstable) relationship between East and West. No one is entirely happy about it, but for all concerned it seems to represent a lesser evil than the old informalized relationship.

But there is a major implication in all this for the peoples of those countries in Eastern Europe who live under the shadow of Moscow's military power. The declaration will rule out any use of force to change the existing

— Present boundaries
— Post 1918 boundaries

TRANSATLANTIC
VIEW

frontiers of Europe. That means in effect an acceptance by the West of a special Soviet

predecessor. In effect President Ford is rewarding the new party leader in Warsaw, Edward Giersek, for treating the Polish people a great deal better than they were treated before. America's friends in Poland are people, not the Communist government. But the visit, and the signing of the declaration will ease the lot of the people — then it's good thing, provided Americans don't forget the people.

The great argument about the declaration principles is over whether the Soviet hand will grip its captives more or less tight after it is signed. All the governments in the Soviet sphere argue that it will relax the Kremlin's fear of defection, hence will lead to less pressure on the governments, which will then, in turn, be able to ease up a little on the people themselves.

Perhaps it will work out that way. But it can be entirely sure. It is a fact that the defection has been a force in Soviet foreign policy making ever since World War II. A Washington has at times given them more fear such defection.

There is still in fact a radio service based into Eastern Europe called Radio Free Europe — left over from "cold-war" days. Its time its purpose was to keep alive the hope of East Europeans for liberation from Moscow's control. The Helsinki conference means

The Helsinki declaration means that for as long as any statement can force the Kremlin will be in an unchallenged position. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania.

By going to Poland and Romania President Ford is in effect saying that the American people have not forgotten them and feel they are disposed toward them regardless of the present plight.

For Yugoslavia, the visit means that Yugoslavia is the only Communist country which has ever defied Moscow, and survived to tell the tale. Hungary tried to do the same and was suppressed under the tread of Soviet tanks. The Poles were tempted, but saw what happened to the Hungarians and decided. The Czechs tried to break away — and failed. The Yugoslavs made good their own independence.

The visit to Belgrade is a reminder to all concerned that the independent Yugoslavs have friends in Washington.

Europe

Songbird slaughter to continue in Italy

By David Willey
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Rome
Italy is about to put its stamp of approval on the killing of as many as 40 million songbirds. A new law for "the protection of fauna and the regulation of hunting, shooting, and fishing" is being drafted by a committee of the Italian Senate. But the law, in fact, would sanction the practice of shooting migratory birds that fly across Italy on their way south to the warmer climate of the Mediterranean and North Africa every fall.

The Italian branch of the World Wildlife Fund as well as ornithologists and conservationists have protested vigorously for years at the indiscriminate netting of small birds that are used as bait for the killing of larger species, such as the thrush.

(The captured smaller birds, such as finches, are placed in batteries of cages that are hidden in wooded areas while hunters wait under cover nearby. When the migratory birds arrive, they are attracted by the sounds of the caged birds and are drawn within range of the hunters' guns.)

But Italy's thousands of licensed, and unlicensed, hunters have formed a powerful parliamentary lobby to protect their so-called sport. Manufacturers of guns and ammunition also have pressured politicians of virtually every party to help ensure that the killing of birds can continue.

Even the denunciation last February by the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, of the killing of such birds in Italy has failed to check it.

Over large areas of northern Italy (and southern France) small birds are considered a culinary delicacy, and there is a steady demand for songbird meat. This is particularly popular in the Communist strongholds of Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna in Italy, which may account for the fact that the new legislation has the approval of Communist senators, who perhaps fear the loss of support of the hunting fraternity if they should oppose the "sport."

Ever since the Fascist dictatorship, hunters in Italy have tended to get their way when in conflict with other special-interest groups. Since 1945 of the Italian civil code, which dates back to Mussolini's heyday, gives almost unrestricted entry for hunters to all private property. The only exception is where crops might be damaged or where owners are rich enough to afford to put up high wire fences around their land. Even "no hunting" notices seen all over the countryside have no legal force.

Public opinion already has been mobilized once against the yearly killing of the songbirds, but to no avail. In 1969 the netting of birds was banned, but only a year later the law was repealed thanks to the efforts of a Christian Democrat legislator and the bird-hunting lobby.

The World Wildlife Fund, the Italian Bird Protection League, and a conservation body called Italia Nostra organized a national petition against the resumed slaughter of the songbirds, and more than half a million bird lovers signed.

Under Italian law, that many signatures would be sufficient to launch a national referendum on the subject — and another public outcry seems in the offing, five years after the original collection of signatures for the petition.

The bird slaughter represents big business for cartridge manufacturers. A million hunters each spending an average of \$150 a year on ammunition adds up to a lot of money. The irony is that it apparently takes 32 grams of lead shot to kill what amounts to a target weighing only 10 grams. Where is the sport in that, opponents ask.



Generalissimo greets successor, Prince Juan Carlos: the army stands ready to smash internal disorder

Basques denounce punishment

Franco rubs in his Civil War victory

By Richard Mowrer
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid
Spain has just celebrated the 39th anniversary of the military uprising that brought Gen. Francisco Franco to power, and after nearly four decades the scars of the civil war are still hard to eradicate.

Today 70 percent of Spain's 35 million population are too young to remember the 1936-39 conflict that split the country wide open at a terrible cost in lives and suffering. Pressure for democratic reforms is mounting among the younger generation, and even among members of the octogenarian caudillo's authoritarian regime.

This is accompanied by calls to bury the past and tone down or do away with celebrations and acts that keep civil-war memories alive. The regime, however, insists on perpetuating "the spirit of July 18" which is the ideological basis of General Franco's authoritarian state.

Fourteen members of the Cortes (Parliament) last month formally proposed that the

annual "victory parade" be abolished. They said that it was "illogical that after 36 years military parades continue to commemorate the defeat of our brothers."

To this plea the government now has given its reply: "The armed forces have the high mission of defending the institutional order. So military parades are useful and desirable reminders that a deterrent force exists in the interior, especially at a time when public order is under strain."

Two weeks ago Basque members of the Cortes denounced with a vigor unprecedented in the Franco era legislative punishment imposed on two northern provinces for fighting on the "wrong" side in the civil war. "It is hard to understand how punishment of this sort can be made to last 38 years," said Cortes member Fernandez Palacios.

Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa were officially stigmatized as "traitor provinces" in 1937 and denied autonomous rights of a fiscal nature which two other Basque provinces, Alava and Navarra, retained because they joined the Nationalist cause.

It was hoped that the government would abolish this particular scar of the civil war on the 39th anniversary of the conflict. But nothing happened.

Another opportunity for reconciliation was missed with regard to disabled Republican war veterans. A bill to end discrimination and allow them the same pensions and benefits as disabled Nationalists has bogged down.

In December Pope Paul proclaimed 1975 "a holy year of reconciliation among mankind" and the Spanish Roman Catholic bishops called for an end to the "harmful effects of the civil war that divide the people into victors and vanquished and which are still an obstacle to reconciliation."

On July 1 the Vatican-backed "justice and peace" commission in Spain appealed for a general amnesty for exiles and political prisoners. It said, "Painful events in our country reveal that, far from disappearing, the consequences of the civil war persist, and worsen." But the regime has made no move toward an amnesty.

Ulster peace holds despite troop killings

By Jonathan Harsch
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin
Northern Ireland's cease-fire continues — thanks to several twists of Irish logic.

Despite last Thursday's terrorist killing of four British soldiers, the British Government and the leadership of the illegal provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) claim to remain on speaking terms with high hopes of avoiding a resumption of full-scale hostilities.

The IRA argues that the cease-fire will last as long as the British Government continues political negotiations (negotiations which the

British deny are taking place). IRA leaders say British Army harassment and subsequent IRA retaliation need not affect the cease-fire.

The current IRA aim seems to be to divide and conquer — to divide the British Government from its own Army. The IRA now draws a clear if highly artificial distinction between the British Army and the British Government's administrator in Northern Ireland, Secretary of State Merlyn Rees. The IRA describes Mr. Rees as a well-intentioned working-class Welshman who has been manipulated by the upper-class Englishmen running the British Army.

According to the IRA, the sole point of its nearly six-month old cease-fire is to permit

negotiations with the British Government on the IRA's three basic demands: a British commitment to phased withdrawal from Northern Ireland; amnesty for all IRA prisoners; the agreed right of all Irish to self-determination. The cease-fire will end, says the IRA, if the British either drag out the negotiations too long or flatly reject the IRA terms.

Mr. Rees told the British Parliament Monday that last week's killing of four soldiers need not affect the cease-fire or current British policy in Northern Ireland. His reason: the bombing was carried out by local mavericks whom the IRA leadership could not be expected to control at all times.

Europe

Anti-Communist backlash sets in Portugal: a new defiance stirs in the land

By Helen Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The spread of anti-Communist violence and civil unrest across Portugal has started to undermine Gen. Vasco Gonçalves' future as Prime Minister.



Mario Soares calls...

General Gonçalves' ouster at a rally recently, drew censure from the military. But this did little to dispel speculation that the Primo Minister's days were numbered.

General Gonçalves, an emotional man, has maintained his position through three provisional governments. He is considered the Communist Party's best friend in the hierarchy of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

His ouster would represent a severe setback for the traditional pro-Moscow Communists and possibly lead to a curtailment of their influence in the government. His departure, however, would not necessarily benefit the non-Communist parties.

For the main beneficiary from any move against General Gonçalves would probably be the Socialist Left Movement (MES), a small but influential group of intellectuals with an ill-defined philosophy to the left of the Communists.

Several "ex-MES" members have already been incorporated in the government, and the indications are that more will be brought into the new cabinet being formed.

It has been these men — with the backing of military-security chief Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho — who have convinced the ruling Revolutionary Council that the best way to solve the country's economic, social, and political crisis is to keep pushing further and further to the left.

These shifts reached their current apex with the decision to set up a mass people's movement to gradually replace the political parties and for a "people's democracy." This

plan was the idea of General Curvalho, who is fast emerging as a possible new strong man.

To a certain extent, the shift to this movement represents a panic response by the military to its rapidly declining public support in the countryside.

Earlier in the month, mobs with anti-military overtones clashed with Communists and wrecked the party's headquarters in at least 10 widely separated places. A soldier was shot and killed in one of the incidents, and 15 civilians were injured in another.

The public unrest was brought to the surface by the withdrawal of the Socialists and left-of-center Popular Democrats from the coalition cabinet in protest against the military's violation of press freedom and other democratic rights.

In Oporto and Lisbon recently, the Socialists drew some of the biggest crowds in the revolution's 15-month history. In both cities, the Communists, backed by the military, tried to prevent these gatherings, but in each case failed miserably.

The explanation for the sudden decision by the public to defy the military and Communists in vast numbers is fairly simple. The two opposition parties have convinced the Portuguese that the moment of final decision is high and they must stand up and be counted.

The driver of the taxi taking this writer to the Socialist rally in Lisbon reflected this new civilian militancy.

"We are thoroughly sick of the MFA. Why don't they go back to their barracks?" he said. "We don't want them."

The driver of another taxi hired by reporters a tour of Oporto before the rally there provided a similar view.

"This region is revolted by the military, we're going to revolt against them," he said. "It was a limited straw poll, but middle-class friends are saying the same thing. It does bode well for the military."



... for Vasco Gonçalves to go

Brandt sees possibilities and risks in Helsinki summit

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe at the end of this month will bind the United States even closer to free Europe, former West German chancellor Willy Brandt said in an interview here.

And in the wake of the security conference agreements, "perhaps in the first half of 1976," the Russians may well "come nearer the substance" of an agreement to reduce conventional forces in Europe, he added.

He stressed, however, that any agreement in the military area would be "limited" and would depend on further U.S.-Soviet agreements in the strategic arms limitations talks (SALT).

Still considered "Mr. Detente" in Europe, Mr. Brandt has just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, where he received a warm personal welcome from Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev.

He cautioned that the Russians are still "very reluctant to reduce armaments."

The former chancellor, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in achieving bilateral detente treaties with the Soviet Union and other countries, said that the Helsinki rules governing contacts between families and individuals residing in different countries, and the right of recognized religious bodies to maintain contact with one another, to arrange international meetings and to exchange information. This, however, presumably does not apply to such groups in the Soviet Union as the Russian Baptists, which are not officially registered, and other smaller churches.

The West seems to have been a gainer in passages dealing with journalistic rights and privileges, provided Western countries vigorously press for their observation.

Reference to the jamming of broadcasts is omitted. International broadcasting is enjoined to serve "mutual understanding between nations and the trust of the conference." The East reportedly has claimed that Western broadcasts do not serve this aim.

He himself suggested — and Sweden put forward the idea in the negotiations — that the signatory countries meet again in 1977 and report on what has been done.

"I take for granted that the ideological rivalry will go on," Mr. Brandt said. "But we want that, and Western democracy is stronger now than 20 years ago."

The former chancellor thinks that the public in the United States must learn to be more patient about the time it takes other nations to change. He says that the people of Portugal, for example, are further away from communism than a year ago, and that the problem is that the military alone still holds the power there.

"There is an unbelievable mixture of political forces there," he said, "and though it may take years for good results, the people must not be given the impression they are left alone."

Paul Wohl writes: The so-called "third basket" of the European security conference agreements is a document of more than 3,000 words, which leaves much to interpretation.

If detente works, the decisions of the conference will be applied in a liberal sense. If not, the Helsinki rules governing contacts between families and individuals residing in different countries, and the right of recognized religious bodies to maintain contact with one another, to arrange international meetings and to exchange information. This, however, presumably does not apply to such groups in the Soviet Union as the Russian Baptists, which are not officially registered, and other smaller churches.

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Sluggish productivity

West Germany: a little gilt comes off the gingerbread

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The glittering West German economy has lost a little of its shine. The effect, observers here note, is being felt in domestic politics and in European affairs.

This analysis does not mean that Germany faces any kind of economic collapse. This country in fact has weathered the present worldwide recession quite well. But it now is being recognized — painfully — that Germany has become "more like the others."

There is some suspicion, for example, that the workers' real income — which doubled in the last 13 years — will now at best hold steady for several years or even decline because of inflation and slow growth in productivity and profits. As a result, labor politics may well heat up, even though unions here are highly conscientious and responsible.

Cities, states, and the federal government all are borrowing more than their financial experts would like. They talk of a "rapidly deteriorating financial situation."

For example, reporting on a study by his office earlier this month, said that even with an upswing in the economy, the financial situation of the states would not improve because of high commitments to social-security measures (he does not argue against the value of these measures).

Social programs account for 26 percent of the gross national product. Tax increases to support them are taken now for granted, with only the timing a question.

It is generally believed that the government held back its most negative appraisals of the economy until after the last round of state elections in the spring.

In the coming fall round of wage negotiations, however, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt will have to urge the utmost restraint.

The new economic situation likely will be political topic No. 1 for some time. But present

economic conditions cannot be held at the level of one party. When the Christian Democrats the current opposition party, were in power in the 1960s, for example, it also backed high wages and higher social programs.

The problem today is at least in part structural one. Some 23 percent of the G.D.P. comes from exports. German workers earn as much as U.S. workers in many ways. Their growth in real income has been so extensive come out of business profits.

High costs and successive upward revisions of the mark have pushed up the price of German exports to a dangerously high level. Exports this year have fallen 18 percent.

The government has taken all of the usual Keynesian steps to shore up the economy off ground zero. Taxes have been cut by 10 billion and made more progressive. The central bank has lowered the money rate and encouraged lower interest rates. Spending has been increased.

Now government spokesman Klaus Kinkel says there are plans for a \$2 billion public works construction program this fall.

Over a million are unemployed here. Every 15 minutes a new person is added to the list. Germany is under more than just external pressure to do well economically.

For a year at least other European nations — especially France — have been watching Germany's economy, the most powerful on the side of the Atlantic — to rev up and help the own.

It has not happened yet. Economists here say that Germany's growth rate will count on zero growth this year at best.

The situation strains relations with Germany's European Community partners. For a month, for example, there has been unpleasant disagreement about Germany's share of a community research program, with Germany threatening to cut back its input and European officials crying unfair.

Cautionary tale from a Shanghai turbine plant

Miss Salkowski has just completed a 24-day tour of China with a delegation of American newspaper editors.

By Charlotte Salkowski
Chief editorial writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Shanghai
Cha Ching-lu is a sturdy, self-assured young worker. Not too many years ago he finished senior middle school, the equivalent of an American high school, and started working as a grinding-gear machine operator at the Shanghai No. 2 Steam Turbine Plant. Today he is manager of the plant.

His meteoric rise to the top of one of China's major industrial facilities was the result of the Cultural Revolution. During those tempestuous days political activist Cha joined others in criticizing then-manager Yu Tung-cheng. Mr. Yu was ousted, "re-educated," and today he is the plant's chief engineer and No. 2 in the management.

"Old Yu had a lot of old mentality before the Cultural Revolution," the volatile Mr. Cha

told visiting American editors with a hearty laugh, as Mr. Yu sat beside him.

Here, in capsule, was a vivid example of the egalitarianism and youthful drive with which the Chinese leadership hopes to thrust the nation into the 20th century. Mr. Yu is clearly the brains of the plant, but the fervent worker is expected to keep things running.

Unless there are growing material incentives, it will take a lot of such revolutionary fervor to meet China's goal of becoming a strong, modern country in 25 years' time. Industry has grown at a respectable rate of 7 to 15 percent a year. But steel production slipped in the first six months of this year and, in general, high growth rates have been possible because China starts from such a low base.

This is still a developing country. As the deputy leader of Shanghai pointed out to us, China has its ships, trains, and airplanes, but the wheelbarrow, bicycle, pedicab, draft animal, and sheer human muscle are still the chief modes of transport. Tractors and combines have begun to dot the countryside, but it is still the millions of peasants bent over in the fields who produce the food.

At a new hotel in Peking the window drapes in one's room are operated electrically. Yet in the foreign-exchange office in the lobby transactions are carried out by abacus and a bevy of clerks.

In the department stores the shelves are stocked with simple, well-made consumer items. But the most the average Chinese might own, besides his utilitarian clothing, is a watch, a bicycle, a radio, and, possibly, a sewing machine or a musical instrument.

The need for housing is acute. Urban centers are warrens of shabby one-story dwellings without running water or heat, and even relatively modern housing is dreadfully run down. City streets and courtyards are uncommonly clean but, because of more pressing priorities, little effort is given to maintenance of buildings.

Even the new dwellings, moreover, are densely populated. At a neat, pleasant housing complex outside Shanghai a family of four to six members lives in two rooms, sharing a kitchen and toilet facilities with neighbors.

In the factories the contrasts are equally stark. Occasionally we saw a fully automated line, but manufacturing processes are still labor-intensive.

Equipment often has a jerry-built appearance, and, to the credit of the Chinese, some ingenious contraptions are devised to substitute for modern machinery. At a transistor factory near Harbin, for instance (housed in a cluster of buildings built as a Russian summer resort), workers had fashioned a metal-punching machine out of an old sewing machine — displaying the kind of inventiveness and "self-reliance" so extolled throughout the country.

Whether China's industry is efficient is difficult for a visiting foreigner to gauge. But one surprising impression is the rather easygoing pace of work. In plants and elsewhere there is not the air of hard-driving energy one finds in, say, Japan.

On the contrary, although the Chinese boast that they have no unemployment, there obviously is a great amount of underemployment. One sees workers just standing around in the factories, and many machines seem manned by more hands than necessary.

At the Shanghai Diesel Engine plant officials admitted to "shortcomings" in management. There was need for more technical innovation, they said, some shops were bustle

than others, and production was not evenly balanced.

Although China still stresses "self-reliance and independence," it has made the decision to import Western technology, including entire plants, in order to automate and modernize more rapidly. Even now Americans are installing ammonia plants in Szechwan and Hellingkiang provinces.

One of the uncertainties of the future is what impact industrialization will have on the nation's millions of young people. Industry is where the action is, and youth, if they cannot get into the People's Liberation Army, aspire next to work in a factory.

By Western standards, the living standard of the average worker is spartan. His wage averages roughly between 40 and 130 yuan (\$22 and \$71) a month, depending on age, region of the country, skill, and political attitude. He works eight hours a day, six days a week, and has a paid vacation only when his family lives somewhere else. There are also seven national holidays.

Rent runs a modest 3 to 5 percent of wages, and medical care is free. At the Shanghai Diesel Engine plant workers can purchase lunch for as little as 15 to 50 fun (8 to 28 cents), and there is free bus service from Shanghai.

Also, in the drive to provide China with technicians, factories now have so-called "July 21 colleges" where a worker can upgrade his skills. If he has the right political viewpoint and has a good work record, he has a chance perhaps to follow in the footsteps of Cha Ching-lu. But he must subordinate his desires to the needs of the state.

Whether ideological incentives will suffice to keep the industrial momentum going is the big question. For the moment the Chinese leadership is keeping the eight-point wage scale, under which some workers are paid more than others. But apparently this is not enough. Earlier this year there were reports of labor dissatisfaction over wages at coal mines and iron and steel plants.

Asked about such disturbances, Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping told the American newspaper editors that some of the demands were "rational and reasonable," while others came from "bad elements."

It looks as if China in the future will tread a delicate course between dangling economic incentives and demanding political devoutness.

Korean Protestants on trial

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Seoul
The judge entered the crowded courtroom and shouted for all those present to stand up. Directly in front of him stood four men dressed in white prison garb and locked in handcuffs.

The four were not common criminals, but Protestant ministers. The charge against them was embezzlement. But their supporters, as well as many independent observers, were convinced that their only crimes were the work they had done among the urban poor and the appeals they had made for the restoration of democracy in South Korea.

For the Korean Protestant ministers who have been assisting urban factory workers and slum dwellers, the heat is on. Almost all of these ministers, usually known as Urban Industrial Mission (UIM) workers, have been detained for questioning by the police or the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) over the past few years. Some have been arrested.

The Park Chung Hee government has shown a growing tendency to try to discredit UIM workers by labeling them communists. At a recent government briefing for officials and university administrators, two Protestant organizations engaged in work among the urban poor, the Seoul Metropolitan Community Organization and the Korean Nation Council of Churches (NCC), were described as "communist."

Much of South Korea's rapid economic growth can be attributed to a competitive advantage given it by hard-working but low-paid workers. Under the law, the workers are

supposed to be allowed to organize and bargain with management. In reality the government, often working through the KCIA, keeps the workers under strict control. The relative handful of Protestant and Roman Catholic ministers who are trying to make the workers aware of their legal rights and improve their living conditions are viewed by the government as dangerous subversives.

By bringing the Rev. Kim Kwan Suk, general secretary of the NCC, to trial on embezzlement charges, the government has removed an effective critic and organizer of assistance to the urban poor. Mr. Kim's absence has badly weakened the council, which brings together six Protestant denominations.

The prosecutor has charged that the four ministers misappropriated funds provided for urban missionary work by an organization representing West German Protestant churches. The organization itself has issued a statement saying that what the four did with the money was in accordance with its aims, which included research, community organization activities, and the realization of "democratic consciousness and social justice."

Part of the money went to assist the families and lawyers of eight men who were executed in early April. The eight were accused of being underground communists attempting to organize a movement to overthrow the Park government. A number of South Korean clergymen as well as foreign missionaries are convinced that the eight men, who were convicted in secret trials, were the innocent victims of a conspiracy theory invented by the KCIA to discredit noncommunist protesters by linking them with the underground communists.

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Asia

You can't eat politics in Bihar

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Patna, India
The state of Bihar, an Indian journalist wrote recently, "would seem to represent all of the ills that dog India's development in their acutest form."

"If a breakthrough can be made here, it would probably provide a pattern, not only for the problem-ridden eastern states but also for the rest of the country," the journalist concluded. Many would agree with him.

A considerable number of economic and political analysts are convinced that if Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her government can even slightly better the lives of the people in problem states such as Bihar, it will go a long way toward justifying to many Indians her assumption of sweeping emergency powers.

For the impoverished masses of Bihar, India's second most populous state, it matters little whether the country adheres to parliamentary democracy or adopts the more authoritarian form of governing Mrs. Gandhi has recently chosen. What matters most is getting enough food to eat, by no means an easy task.

This preoccupation with immediate economic needs was evident in the lack of a strong reaction in Bihar against Mrs. Gandhi's declaration of a state of emergency three weeks ago and her crackdown on a number of her political opponents. If any state was expected to react violently, it was Bihar.

The state is the political stronghold of Mrs. Gandhi's most prominent critic, Jaya Prakash Narayan, known popularly by his initials as J. P. It was in Bihar last year that this disciple of Mahatma Gandhi launched an anticorruption campaign which grew into a nationwide movement. Mr. Narayan and a number of his key supporters were arrested after Mrs. Gandhi proclaimed the state of emergency.

But aside from a few abortive attempts at bomb throwing and a few small and isolated demonstrations by student supporters of Mr. Narayan, Bihar has remained relatively quiet. "Everything has been . . . peaceful and orderly," the state's home secretary, R. N. Dash, recently announced with a touch of pride.

"The liberty which has been withdrawn from us only means something to less than 10 percent of the population," said an Indian university professor who specializes in Bihar's economic problems.

"If she (Mrs. Gandhi) sustains this emergency to impose positive economic measures, there will be no opposition to her whatsoever," he said.

But, as anyone here can tell you, Bihar's economic and social problems are enormous.

With a huge population of nearly 60 million people, the state lags behind the rest of India in education and the development of roads and irrigation projects. Government development programs have so far benefited the landowners and rich peasants much more than they have the poor majority. Bihar's per capita income is barely one-third of that of the most advanced states.

Moreover, conditions here are one-third of the state's population, and their numbers appear to be growing. Recurrent floods and droughts have not made life easier.

Nearly 80 percent of the landholdings in Bihar come to fewer than five acres. Yet there are landowners in the northern part of the state who control more than 2,000 acres each.

As part of an emergency economic program announced by Mrs. Gandhi at the beginning of this month, land ceilings are to be imposed and rural debts are to be liquidated, with minimum agricultural wages are to be reviewed, and state governments are to implement already existing provisions for the completion of land records and the distribution of surplus land and house sites for landless laborers and poor farmers more rapidly.



Ancient Chinese warriors and horses: part of a hoard of some 6,000 pottery figures discovered recently in China

Where the army helps with the harvest

By Charlotte Sulkowski
Chief editorial writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Nanking, China
What does a Chinese lad want to do most? Get into the Army, of course.

While young people in the West often are turned off on things military, China has no trouble luring volunteers for the People's Liberation Army (PLA) estimated to be 3 million men strong. There apparently are more romances and adventure in Army life than in being sent into the countryside to haul manure and plow paddies.

"Many more youth want to join than we can accept," said Chen Yao-kul, deputy political officer of the 12,000-man 19th Infantry Division. "We take only those who are physically fit, have proven to be good workers, and have a high political consciousness."

Today the PLA appears to be turning its energies more toward being just an army rather than a political watchdog. After the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution the soldiers were sent into the factories, communes, and universities to restore order. They stayed on for years, but evidence grows that they have returned to the barracks as the party has resumed control over the civilian sector.

Occasionally one sees PLA stationed at the entrance to a hotel or a public institution. It is impossible to learn what kind of

military force China is building, for such things are not talked about publicly. But Western scholars think that a debate is still going on between the Maoists, who seek to develop a strong professional army, and the more radical communists who want a "people's army" with strong ideological indoctrination.

The proud 19th, headquartered about 20 miles outside Nanking, seems to be a blend of the two. Visiting American journalists were impressed by the display of fire power put on by crack battalions, who shouted "Kill! Kill!" as they crisply carried out their drills.

At the same time Army routine is heavy with politics. Deputy division commander Li Yuan-hsi said the soldiers spend roughly 70 percent of their time for military training and 30 percent for political study. The goal of the PLA, as he put it, is to be "a fighting force, a productive force, and a propaganda team."

Military training includes such tasks as producing bean curd, raising soybeans, and tending vegetable gardens. Also, every company is assigned to a commune production brigade, and at harvest time soldiers help the peasants bring in the crop.

The "egalitarian" look of the PLA is strange to the Western eye. There are no ranks or insignia. All men wear the same baggy olive-green trousers and jacket, with red patches at the collar and a single five-pointed star on the cap.

"The officers mingle and work with recruits, so it's not hard to identify them," commented Chen Yao-kul. "Anyway," he added with a chuckle, "officers have four pockets in their uniforms; recruits have only two."

Perhaps more in the Army than anywhere else one observes a wide disparity in pay. A 19-year-old recruit gets six yuan (about 10 cents) a month. A second-year soldier gets 10 yuan a month. Officers average between 70 and 100 yuan a month but pay for their food.

Mr. Chen, once a peasant, earns a high wage.

Director Chen's high earnings reflect importance the leadership attaches to indoctrination and Communist Party work of the military. There are party units at every level, and while the commander of a division is said to be in charge of the combat, even game plans are discussed and approved in the party committee.

The men live in long concrete barracks — four, six, and more by a company. The barracks are furnished with wooden beds, and each is adorned with a photo of a leader. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the most prominent. The men can play pool and checkers, study Marxist political theory, and read the stories of such revolutionary heroes as "On the Banks" or "Taking Tiger Mountain by Superior Strategy."

Will China lob missile from Tibet into Indian Ocean?

By Mohan Ram
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi
India is not alarmed by China's strategic missile program and the reported location of a missile base in Tibet, because it does not perceive a nuclear threat from China.

Indian experts say the prime consideration of Chinese strategic policy is to deter the Soviet Union, and not India and that it is Peking's commitment to the ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) program that explains location of a base in Tibet.

Western newspapers have been reporting development of a missile base in Tibet, on India's doorstep, since late 1974, and Soviet newspapers have predicted a Chinese ICBM

test over the Indian land mass to the Indian Ocean by this fall.

New Delhi has reacted in low key to both reports.

China is known to have been developing its ICBM program for some time as an integral part of its missile development. In the view of experts, the Chinese ICBM should be fully tested by the end of 1975 and several should have been deployed by 1980.

With an arsenal of short-range tactical and medium-range (1,500 miles) and intermediate-range (3,500 to 5,000 miles) missiles as well as multiple-stage intermediate (3,500 miles) missiles already on hand, China is aiming for an ICBM with a range of 6,000 miles.

Lop Nor, in northwestern China, seems to be the most important of Peking's missile bases.

But Lop Nor is not far from the border of the Soviet Union, and while it may be vulnerable to tank attacks or to a possible Soviet strike, once the Chinese ICBM program becomes a reality, Lop Nor becomes a reality, perhaps even becoming a base.

Thus, a base in Tibet not only would be much less vulnerable to a Soviet attack, it also would facilitate the testing of Chinese ICBMs. Such tests require safe impact areas for which the Indian or Pacific oceans would prove ideal at a range of up to 6,000 miles. Provision has to be made for fall-back, if it were unsafe to fire them from Lop Nor, or northern or northeastern China. Tibet is obvious choice for such a base.

Soviet Union

Soyuz landing 'very soft'

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
It looked like an explosion, as the two Soviet cosmonauts from the Soyuz-Apollo joint space mission touched down in the open space of Kazakhstan in the heartland of Soviet Asia. But as standby joint-flight cosmonaut Nikolai Rukhvisnikov explained, it was really a very soft landing.

When only one meter (about three feet) from the earth, the descent module's retro-rockets fired to bring the re-entry fall — already braked by parachute — almost to a halt. The rockets blew up a cloud of dust and flames from the Kazakh steppes.

This was a startling sight for those who were seeing a Soviet space landing live for the first time on TV. But what had happened within that cloud in the final second or so of the descent had in fact brought the module almost to a standstill before touching the earth.

Specialists helped cosmonauts Valeri Kubasov and Alexei Leonov out of the charred spacecraft and embraced them. With no quarantine, Soviet reporters too ran up to the returned spacemen. Kubasov told them: "It was very difficult. Now it's all behind. Glad to be back on the dear earth."

For the Russians, the world's first international manned space flight was over. (The U.S. Apollo remains aloft until Thursday.)

For the first time Soviet citizens got to see a space landing on television — and they got to see it live, from the parachute descent through the helicopter departure of the cosmonauts from the landing site.

For the man in the street, this was the most remarkable break with past Soviet secrecy in the whole joint flight. Launches have been shown on TV before — after missions were finished. But Soviet citizens have never before seen a landing, even as a rerun. Only U.S. NASA officials had seen film of a Soviet touchdown before.

For Americans, used to Apollo splashdowns in water, there was some novelty in the Soyuz landing.

The Soviet and American procedures were



AP photo from Tass

Valeri Kubasov autographs charred spacecraft after he and Alexei Leonov had completed their historic mission

identical at the beginning, when the first retro-rockets decelerated the speed of the spacecraft below the 17,000 m.p.h. velocity necessary to stay in orbit. And the further decelerations to about sonic speed by air dynamic braking — and to subsonic speed by parachute — were also the same.

But control of the entire Soyuz descent was different from the Apollo descent to come on Thursday. The Apollo will use an on-board

computer that will adjust to different conditions during descent, while the Soyuz used a preset "sequencer," or automatic clock, with no memory or capacity to alter the flight.

The Soyuz disposal of its companion modules also was different from the Apollo plan. The Soviet instrument and orbital modules burned up in the 5-6,000 degree F. temperature of re-entry into the atmosphere. The Apollo will jettison its companion docking

module some hours before its own re-entry and leave that module orbiting the earth with further experiments to track the shape of earth.

The final Soyuz touchdown showed the sharpest difference from Apollo landings. The Soyuz impact at close to zero velocity was far gentler — despite the dust and the flames — than the Apollo 32-33 foot per second plunge into the ocean.

Soviets hide ambitions behind mask of detente

By Paul Wohl
Special to
The Christian Science
Monitor

A leading Soviet ideologist has made it clear that the Kremlin's policy of detente with the West in no way changes the Soviets' long-term goal of world revolution. In fact, the two are closely related.

In a major speech reported by Pravda, senior Politburo member Mikhail A. Suslov hailed what he termed "the further development and deepening of the world revolutionary process." Detente serves the cause of progress (toward socialism) in the whole world, he said.

"The speech came only days

before two events highlighting the policy of detente: The spectacular American-Soviet "handshake in space," and the agreement at the European security conference to wind up the conference with a summit meeting at Helsinki at the end of this month.

Speaking from the same rostrum from which Lenin held forth many times, Mr. Suslov spoke highly of the seventh congress of the Communist International, the organization that was to lead a worldwide communist revolution.

It was at the seventh congress in 1935 that a new policy was laid down for

working with "progressive" movements in other countries in a "popular front" to defeat fascism.

Then, as now, said Mr. Suslov, "the countries of the capitalist system were experiencing a deep economic crisis, contradictions inside imperialism were becoming sharper and the class struggle of the proletariat was growing. . . . Fascism throughout the world sought to set up repressive terrorist regimes."

"Things have changed in the past 40 years," said Mr. Suslov. "But the main line of the world today and point to communism's eventual total victory."

"The successful establishment of a communist society in the Soviet Union."

"The dynamic development of the world socialist system and its influence on world affairs."

"New victories of the international workers and national liberation movements: an antifascist revolution in Portugal, the collapse of the military junta in Greece, the advance of left-wing forces in France, Italy, and Japan; and the broadening of the anti-imperialist offensive leading to a sharpening of the conflict

between wealthy capitalists and the masses. . . . The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, a weakening of its position, and a sharpening of its contradictions."

"A relaxation of international tensions. . . . There can be no doubt," said Mr. Suslov, "that under conditions of detente and peaceful coexistence it has become less possible [for the enemies of the U.S.S.R.] to export 'counterrevolution'."

But at this time, an important task of all progressive, democratic forces is to remain alert in the face of imperialist intrigues and its agents. Never forget that the reactionary forces of the 'cold war' are striving as before to aggravate international conditions, to roll back the wheel of history."

"Conditions today . . . favor the establishment of a new society," he said. The realization of the "growing revolutionary possibilities" depends in many ways upon the strengthening and the solidarity of the communist movement and its ability to wield the international and national tasks of the workers into one. Irreversible detente is a precondition for the success of this policy," he said.

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Soviet Union

Kremlin sees 'revolutionary potential' in West's military

By Paul Wohl
Written for

The Christian Science Monitor

The Soviet Union's ideologists are showing increasing interest in the "revolutionary potential" of the West's military personnel.

This interest has been spurred by developments in Portugal, where the Communist Party has worked closely with the Armed Forces Movement and where, according to the chief Soviet theoretician, Mikhail A. Suslov, "the military has become a political party."

Moscow's previous time-honored formula for making a revolution has been, at least theoretically, to seek support from the proletariat — the workers and peasants. But recent international developments have led Moscow to declare openly that under certain circumstances, "bourgeois armed forces can become a more effective ally of the Communists than workers and peasants."

An edition of *Pravda*, Lisbon's socialist newspaper which has been closed down and occupied by Communist-led printers and other employees for a month, appeared last month in Paris with what it claimed was information about "top-secret" Soviet instructions to Communist parties on how to seize power in the West.

This summary of the purported instruction

deals with communism's "practical alliance with the armed forces."

It is quite unlikely that such a document was signed by Boris N. Ponomarev, head of the Soviet party's central committee international department, as *Pravda* claims. The Soviets do not operate that way.

[Reuters reports from Paris that French Socialist leader Francois Mitterand doubted the authenticity of the document. "I can't believe that Soviet documents float around like this," he said. "I am inclined to think that the document has no historic reality. Things just don't happen like that."]

In essence, however, the purported "instructions" correspond to communism's new tack. Further endorsement of this policy appeared in a 2,000-word document signed by 24 Latin American Communist parties in Havana June 18.

Three departments of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee are guiding the "fraternal parties" abroad in their attempts to gain a foothold in their countries' armed forces.

Most of the responsibility rests with Mr. Ponomarev as head of the committee's international department, Georgi L. Smirnov, first deputy chief of the Propaganda Department, and General of the Army Alexei A. Yepish-

chev, chief of the Soviet armed forces' political directorate.

Last year Communist parties in the Americas, West Europe, Africa, and Asia were instructed to step up infiltration into the military. In February, 1974, a special conference of the Italian Communist Party was briefed by Senators Ugo Pecchioli and Arrigo Boldrin, the party's military experts.

The conference called for an expansion of party cells in the barracks and in the navy. It also appealed for new methods to win over officers and non-commissioned officers in the same way in which the party, through the trade unions, gained support among the police.

L'Humanite, the large circulation French Communist Party daily, carries at least once a month reports on Communist activity among the military. The West German party is more discreet, but inside the West German forces, too, the Communists have sympathizers. The Spanish party in exile has a strong military nucleus manned by former civil war officers.

The latest issue of *Kommunist* (No. 6), the official journal of the Soviet Communist Party's central committee, has given the new line its theoretical underpinning: "Developments in certain countries (for instance, Portugal, Peru, and others) show a mutual relationship between the proletarian van-



Mikhail Suslov: top theorist

guard (meaning the Communists) of the armed forces, whose compass is what is going on in society," the paper says. "Progressive organizations, among the Communists, see in a close alliance with the military men... a general strengthening of the struggle for the formation of society."

Soviets pledge oil to East bloc

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna — The East Europeans will get more Russian oil and the Soviets will receive more support from their allies in investments to open up new Russian raw-material resources.

These were the main results of a recent summit meeting of the East bloc's trading community, COMECON. Attending were prime ministers from all the European members, senior officials from Cuba and Mongolia, and an associate member from Yugoslavia.

Premier Alexei N. Kosygin gave a Soviet promise of increased oil shipments to its allies. He said the Soviet Union was undertaking structural changes in its own economy in order to ensure the East Europeans' energy and raw material requirements on a long-term basis and immediately for the 1976-80 period.

He gave no indication of what direction these changes might take. Nor did the final communiqué reveal what further action — if any — was taken on such pressing questions as the community's future trade pricing or the greater ruble convertibility in intra-COMECON trade, which some of the East Europeans are extremely anxious to see.

Both stood high in the main business before this meeting of the COMECON Council — coordination of member states' next five-year plans which already has been much delayed by effects of the world energy crisis and inflation; and for the East Europeans especially, the adjustments and cutbacks necessitated by the large price increase for Soviet oil in operation since early this year.

However, the final communiqué only outlined broad goals and disclosed little that was new. It included:

• Approval of a 15-year program to develop new energy and raw material resources in the Soviet Union, with an emphasis on fuel and energy and a key role for expansion of atomic power.

• Similar long-term planning and coordination to expand and ensure supplies of food, fuels and consumer goods.

The Soviets disclosed a big investment program planned jointly with the East Europeans to develop raw materials and energy, including the new 1,700-mile liquefied-gas pipeline from Orenburg in the southern Urals to East and West Europe.

All the East Europeans are contributing finance, engineering, or manpower to the overall project, including an apparent share in finance and construction of a unified power

grid network serving much of Eastern Europe.

East European countries like Hungary, most seriously hit by the new terms of trade, welcome this limited and gradual integration as programmed by COMECON in 1971.

But Romania is reluctant and again opposes what it sees as a new trend toward a supranational blueprint for the whole area. It wants to be free to participate without tying its hands or resources toward non-Communist areas.

The final communiqué omitted mention of the question, suggesting it is still open for other East Europeans besides the Romanians.

Hotel 'colonialism'

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow — A tough statement by the head of the Soviet tourist agency Intourist, accusing Western hotel chains of making "colonialist" demands, has Westerners skeptical about Moscow's being ready in time to host the Olympic Games here in 1980.

An agreement in principle initiated a year ago has never been implemented. Under it a Pan American subsidiary, Intercontinental Hotels Corporation, and the Swedish Skanska Cementgjuteriet were to construct three hotels, one each in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev.

The negotiations have stalled over the stipulation of the hotel chains that they should share in the profits and management.

The Soviet Union maintains that foreign participation in running Soviet hotels would constitute interference in Soviet internal affairs.

For Soviet tourists, the hotels are up to the conditions, which seem to be drawn from the arsenal of an obsolete colonialism," Sergei Nikitin, head of Intourist, said in an interview published in last week's *Literary Gazette*.

The Western hotel chains, which routinely have such arrangements in other countries, including communist Hungary, say they are not construction companies and are not interested in simply erecting a building and then leaving. They say further that if hotels bear their name they want enough management rights to ensure that service is up to their standards. Service in Soviet hotels is notoriously poor.

The Soviet Union, despite its acute shortage of hotel space, is not itself currently constructing any new hotels, according to public Soviet statements. In his interview, however, Mr. Nikitin promised that 20,000 more hotel beds would be available in Moscow by 1980.

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Middle East

Torrid Aden looks forward to the good old days

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Reopening of the Suez Canal has been the best news in years for the impoverished Yemen People's Democratic Republic (South Yemen).

The 1,805,000 people on the 111,074 square miles of the republic, down in the torrid southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula facing Africa, live mainly from subsistence agriculture and the trade passing through the big port of Aden.

Decline in the use of Aden by world shipping following closure of the Suez Canal in 1967 stunted Aden's economic growth, just at the moment it was winning independence (November, 1967) from Britain.

In 1968, bunkering — providing of fuel and services to transient ships — accounted for nearly one-third of South Yemen's exports. With the canal's closing this dropped to less than 7 percent by 1970.

Trade through Aden port dropped by 75 percent because passenger liners bound to and from Australia and the Far East, as well as the East African lines, no longer called to let their passengers and crews shop in the duty-free Aden shops.

Transit trade with the neighboring Yemen Republic (North Yemen), which usually passed through Aden, also dropped off sharply because of development of the North Yemeni harbor at Hodeida.

Djibouti, the capital of the French Territory of the Afars and Issas (formerly French Somaliland) on the African coast opposite Aden, has traditionally been a strong commercial rival. The Suez Canal's reopening also has aroused hopes of new prosperity there. But political turmoil arising from Somali pressure and agitation for independence may impair Djibouti's efficiency.

Youssef Ali, an Aden port authority official, announced last May that Aden would totally renovate its port in anticipation of a revival of traffic, but would not raise anchorage fees, which are still the same as in 1967.

Tugs and pilot-boats were on order, and a 100-ton crane and other heavy equipment had already arrived and were ready for use. Luxury goods long unseen in the austere, socialist state would be imported and put on sale in special shopping centers for visiting passengers and crew.

A free-trade zone opened in Aden harbor in 1971 is being expanded to cover an area of about 22 acres. The harbor now can accommodate 120,000-ton ships with a 48-foot draught, much larger than those initially using the Suez Canal.

A number of world shipping lines have announced their intention to use Aden again. Mr. Ali said he expected active entrepot (transit) trade, and the South Yemen government believed that expansion of the free zone and free markets would increase trading.

The government had begun preparing new tourist traffic by improving and renovating hotels and places of entertainment. Tourist facilities such as beaches and cafes would be built on the coast and islands off Aden for the exclusive use of passengers and crew.

A joint full-scale study of Aden's future growth is under way for the South Yemen Government by two British firms, Coode & Partners and Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., which recently carried out similar investigations of the Lebanese ports of Beirut and Tripoli.

The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development is financing the study, which is due for completion this month. It will examine in detail Aden's general facilities and maximum cargo handling capacity, and how they can be improved and extended to accommodate the rising demands of the next 15 years.



Debris of war: rusting remains of a Soviet rocket launcher and military vehicles east of Sinai's Mitla Pass

AP photo

Syria hungry for U.S. trade and technology

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Damascus, Syria

Since last November, the United States has signed several little-publicized but highly significant economic agreements with Syria.

As described by U.S. Ambassador to Syria Richard Murphy to U.S. and Mideast businessmen last May, they look like this:

First came a \$22.5 million Public Law 480 loan agreement for sale to Syria of American wheat and rice. Next there was a U.S. loan for \$20 million to finance Syrian purchases of American agricultural equipment and other items related to modernization of agriculture.

"The Syrian ministers of agriculture, planning, and economy," Mr. Murphy said, "are now identifying the types of commodities desired under this loan and are putting emphasis on equipment for the planting, harvesting, and processing of forage and fodder in northeast Syria."

"This loan may have to be increased to finance the needed equipment and also to expand the types of commodities in order to include the machinery necessary for land reclamation and irrigation in several areas, particularly the Euphrates Basin now that the Euphrates Dam has been completed."

A grant for \$4 million provides for technical

advice and consultants from the United States, probably in agriculture and mining, which are priority sectors for the Syrians.

Another agreement provides \$1 million for training of Syrians in the U.S. in fields to be chosen by the Syrian Government, probably connected with economic development.

"Even before signature," Ambassador Murphy recalled, "we were able to send four Syrian experts to the United States for six weeks study of earth resources satellite technology and application of that new science to the development of Syria's mineral wealth, agricultural, and water resources."

In June and July of this year, U.S. congressmen urged that U.S. aid to Syria be blocked until the Damascus government liberalized its policies on emigration of Syrian Jews, about 4,500 of whom remain in the country. The U.S. administration argued against such restrictions and contended that Syria had eased controls on its Jewish minority recently. Administration sources believed planned 1976 expenditures of about \$68 million for aid to Syria would be approved.

This year's Syrian budget of more than \$2.8 billion is the largest ever, and over half will be invested in development. Of the \$1.6 billion for development, industry and mining get \$694 million, agriculture and land reclamation

(\$324 million) and communications and public works (\$229 million).

In the industrial and mining sectors, oil investment alone is budgeted for nearly \$290 million, just below the \$308 invested in industry. Despite the continued high burdens of defense, the new five-year development plan (1976-80) is to stress productive sectors of the economy, through sales of more highly processed exports or import substitution.

The United States was fast off the mark after restoration of diplomatic relations by assembling in less than two months a highly successful U.S. exhibition at the September, 1974, Damascus International Trade Fair. Ambassador Murphy recalled that "over half a million visitors nearly burst the seams of our exhibition in an effort to respond to the pent-up Syrian desire for more information about American goods, technology, and achievements."

For this summer's fair, a big exhibition design and construction firm prepared a 1,000-square-meter U.S. pavilion, double the space of last year's pavilion. Mr. Murphy noted, "Our welcome back to Damascus has been a warm one, and we have certainly seen the welcome mat put out for American visitors. . . . I believe you will soon see a growing resident American business community in Syria."

Abu Dhabi dispenses largess to 'third world' needy

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon

Abu Dhabi, the largest member of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), plans to join Kuwait and other Persian Gulf states as a major donor of development aid to poor "third world" countries.

In June the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development began aid to non-Arab third-world countries by loaning about \$180 million to Bangladesh.

It may soon extend aid to non-Arab African states as well. The Bangladesh loan is for development of a machine-tools factory for the country's basic industries.

Arab recipients of new Abu Dhabi Fund loans in June included Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Sudan, Tunisia, Jordan, North Yemen, Morocco, and Mauritania.

In its new loans policy Abu Dhabi is following the example already set by the 12-year-old Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED).

Since its foundation, KFAED has loaned \$466 million for specific, carefully studied development projects in nearly all of the Arab states, but mainly Egypt, the Sudan, and Tunisia.

Abdel Latif al-Hammad, director-general of KFAED, says Arab aid to the third world totaled \$14 billion in 1974, with Kuwait the top

donor: It gave 7 to 8 percent, according to Mr. Hammad. This year KFAED is branching out into aid to non-Arab states as well and has increased its capital to about \$4 billion.

What Abu Dhabi plans is to send delegations to a number of third-world states to assess their development needs and see how the fund may help. Malaysia was one of the first countries visited.

The Abu Dhabi ruler and UAE federal president, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan, Abu Dhabi, has already given 40 percent of its gross national product (GNP) in aid, especially in both India and Pakistan where it is financing joint projects, and will soon do so in Bangladesh.

Interest in internal investment is running high. The recently established UAE Development Fund may become the main support of the private sector in the union. It would grant loans at a nominal interest rate of 1.5 to 2 percent, described as an "administrative fee," for housing and industrial schemes in Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and other parts of the U.A.E.

This is similar to the Saudi Industrial Development Fund, which offers up to 50 percent of the capital investment in a project even if there is a foreign partner, on similar easy terms.

Some of the other institutions set up by rich Arab oil states and some non-Arab members of OPEC (Organization of Oil Exporting

Countries) to help poor — and oil-poor — countries are:

• The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (capital \$340 million). A variant on the original KFAED, headed by Saeb Jaraoui, former chief economist of the KFAED. The fund is based in Kuwait, but all Arab states are supposed to contribute. Has already helped Somalia, Mauritania, and is considering loans to several other African states.

• The Islamic Development Bank (capital \$600 million). The late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia inspired this work. Main contributors are Saudi Arabia (\$240 million), Libya (\$150 million), and the UAE (\$120 million). Main beneficiaries so far are Pakistan, Bangladesh, and reportedly, Nigeria.

• The Special Arab Fund for Africa (capital \$200 million). Has helped a number of Arab countries, especially in drought relief. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya are main contributors.

• The African Development Bank (capital \$200 million). Nigeria and Libya have made the main contributions, over \$40 million each, with Algeria coming in strong with more than \$20 million recently.

• Iran and Venezuela each provide development aid in multimillion-dollar amounts to their close friends and neighbors.

Africa

Amin: it's all smiles now

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Uganda's President Idi Amin is playing the role of statesman and good-humored leader as he prepares to act as host to the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in his capital of Kampala next week-end.

In accordance with custom the leader of the host country at an OAU summit becomes the organization's chairman for the ensuing year. Many had questioned General Amin's holding of the chairmanship after the worldwide unfavorable reaction to his recent threat to execute British lecturer Denis Hills for slandering him. Mr. Hills was eventually pardoned and freed, and General Amin seems to have had his eye since on his image in his prospective OAU role.

At the Kampala meeting of OAU foreign ministers drawing up an agenda for the summit, President Amin spoke out last week on two of the topics certain to be discussed when the heads of government gather: (1) black Africa's relations with South Africa; and (2) the fighting between rival African nationalist groups in Angola, the Portuguese territory scheduled for independence this coming November.

On South Africa, General Amin criticized those black African states that have responded favorably to white-run South Africa's efforts to establish a dialogue with independent black African states. This South African policy, he said, was "deadly poison."

The hard-liners who share the Amin view mustered enough support at the foreign ministers' meeting to get put on the agenda for the summit an item headed "the international status of South Africa." It was originally proposed by Uganda. Peter Onu, Nigerian Assistant Secretary General of OAU, said acceptance of the item by the summit would lead to a debate on whether South Africa is an illegal colony or a lawful independent republic on the African continent.

On Angola, General Amin said it would be a welcome idea if the OAU decided to send troops to Angola to keep peace and order until the rival African movements there found some way to live together.

The three main African organizations in Angola are: the Marxist-inclined and Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostinho Neto; the Chinese and Zaire-backed Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto; and the Union for the Total



Just one of the boys?

Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi.

MPLA and FNLA are locked in a bitter and violent feud for control of Angola when the Portuguese depart. Both movements are well armed. UNITA is not well armed and has sought to keep out of the struggle between the other two organizations and to encourage reconciliation between them.

So intractable seems the rift between MPLA and FNLA that a senior Portuguese official in Luanda, the Angolan capital, told the Associated Press Saturday that if the opposing factions do not come to terms, Portugal may have to postpone granting the territory independence on Nov. 11.

If it came to this, it would represent a setback both for the Portuguese military in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) now running Portugal and for the cause of African nationalism generally (for which the OAU is channel and champion). For the Portuguese MFA, it would mean delay in unloading the burden of colonial overlordship of which the new Portugal wants urgently to free itself. For the OAU, it would mean public admission that black Africans cannot unite to take over

from white colonial rulers even when the colonial rulers are in a hurry to leave and have fixed a date.

A potentially and equally divisive situation exists in another territory in southern Africa where the OAU is impatient to see the end of white-minority rule -- but where the white minority is not yet so ready for a transfer of power to blacks as are the Portuguese in Angola. This territory is Rhodesia, where the feuding rivals for eventual black control are: the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole; and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo.

Since late last year ZANU and ZAPU -- on outside African urging -- have supposedly merged their differences and been operating under the umbrella of the African National Council, whose neutral chairman is Bishop Abel Muzorewa. One of the intentions behind this was to facilitate negotiations between Rhodesian Africans and the white-led minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith for constitutional changes in the Africans' favor. But continued ZANU ZAPU strife has helped Mr. Smith temporize.

Bourguiba's would-be successors wait in the wings

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba surprised many by bouncing back from with health problems a few years ago very much in charge. He caused many eyebrows last year when he had declared President for life. But with no proven able at his side, Mr. Bourguiba has persuaded most Tunisians the option for the time being is to hope they are.

This does not prevent speculation about the eventual succession when Mr. Bourguiba -- a septuagenarian taking continuing advice -- is no longer on the scene.

Constitutionally, should the president die or fall vacant, it passes to his minister. The present holder of the office is Hedi Nouri, a skillful but economist who has grown nationally since Mr. Bourguiba installed him as minister in 1970.

Mr. Nouri now has sufficiently established himself with public opinion here as to increase the likelihood of his being taken over without challenge.

But living in exile are two men, holders of ministerial office, who have not of Mr. Bourguiba and could conceivably try to take advantage of any uncertainty. Mr. Bourguiba passes from the scene. Ahmed ben Salah, has ties with Mr. President Houmedienne, the other, is Mounir al-Qaddafi.

Tunisians occasionally have measured uneasiness about the intentions toward of Algeria and Libya, their two neighbors. In this context, Mr. ben Salah is referred to as the Algerian candidate, Mr. Mounir as the Libyan candidate.

Mr. ben Salah came to grief with Bourguiba in the late 1960s after the introduction of a farm cooperative program (which Mr. ben Salah had introduced) produced a fierce backlash from the conservative rural population. In 1971, Mr. ben Salah's radical bent which exploded with Algeria where President Boumedienne shares some of his views. Mr. ben Salah subsequently arrested, tried for treason, jailed, but he later escaped and crossed the border into Algeria. He now lives in Algiers.

Mr. Masmoudi was foreign minister in January of last year. Mr. Bourguiba dismissed him for pushing too far a plan for a merger of Tunisia with Libya, which the initiative had come from Mr. leader Qaddafi. Mr. Masmoudi now lives in France, where he was once Tunisian ambassador. Reports put out while Tunisia allege that he has not been above seeking financial gain as a middleman in dealings between France and Libya.

There are two younger men, both of official positions and therefore enjoying confidence of Mr. Bourguiba, who are suggested as worth watching as possible "young Turks" likely to rise to the top as changing of the guard which is inevitable. They are: Mr. Mohamed Salah, director of Tunisia's highest school, founded by Mr. Bourguiba, the Socialist Party, and Tahar Belkhouja, later of the Interior. Both men are in their early 40s.

Mr. Salah was a Marxist in his student days and he has critics who are concerned he will be too radical. His position in the party is "minister-delegate" which gives him a foothold in the government already given him great power. But Mr. Belkhouja's position gives him power in the Ministry of the Interior. He is in charge of Tunisia's entire security apparatus.

United States

Americans want gun ownership to be controlled

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Efforts to get control of an estimated 40 million American handguns move to new ground:

1. A new Gallup Poll indicates that even those families who have a firearm at home (44 percent of the total) favor gun registration.
2. Other opinion polls indicate 75 percent of the public favors handgun control. The people, the polls suggest, appear to be ahead both of Congress and President.
3. More than a quarter of the members of the House of Representatives own handguns, according to a Washington Post survey, and a

substantial majority opposes strict curtailment.

4. President Ford has said he was "unalterably opposed" to registration of handguns, but is moving to limit the traffic in cheap, snub-nosed, poorly constructed, so-called "Saturday-night specials."

5. The United States is the only industrial nation permitting private ownership without licensing, with 2½ million handguns added to the armory yearly, and a handgun death every hour.

A strong lobby of sportsmen and manufacturers, led by the National Rifle Association, opposes firearms registration. Opponents fear that licensing would lead to outright prohibition.

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"Getting the Most Out of Our Schools" by Kenneth Gehret
Imaginative but practical ways to stretch the school budget.

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The industry's role in treating the human and social costs of drinking.

"Where Do We Grow from Here?" by Robert Cahn
Examines attitudes and practices in urban growth and land use.

"As Others See Us" Two correspondents from Russia and one from America describe their impressions of each other's country and people.

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United States

The Ford administration is reportedly preparing a bill to license gun dealers, not guns, hoping to reduce an estimated 156,000 dealers to 40,000.

A series of federal crime commissions going back many years link America's murder rate to widespread dissemination of firearms.

Spurred by the public, Congress passed the Gun Control Act of 1968 which banned import of small (barrels less than three inches long) cheap handguns. The House subcommittee on crime says the law failed completely.

The subcommittee defines "Saturday-night specials" as guns costing less than \$50, of .32 caliber or less, with a barrel under three inches long. Some towns and cities have banned guns of this description.

But since the 1968 law, handgun parts were shipped to the United States and assembled here. Washington licenses 320 firearms manufacturers; about 37 handgun manufacturers have started business since Congress shut off foreign imports, 22 of which in 1974 devoted more than half of their production to guns that would be illegal as imports. This puts a made-in-America stamp on such weapons.

Forty or more gun-control bills now pend in Congress, but the anti-registration lobby is so well financed and organized, and the American gun-ownership tradition so strong, that the result is uncertain, particularly with President Ford's strong opposition.

Former Attorneys General John N. Mitchell and William B. Saxbe both opposed gun registration, and Edward H. Levi, present Attorney General, favors other control methods.

At New Haven, Connecticut, April 25, President Ford said that "if a gun was involved," in a violent crime, he favored mandatory prison sentences. Now, apparently, he is moving in a new direction.

Gun retailers now are federally licensed, but these licenses are issued automatically; the administration proposal would limit the numbers and would apply more restrictions.

A majority of people have favored tougher gun control for "over three decades" in every poll it has ever taken, the Gallup organization says. The normal percentage is about 71 to 75 with 4 having no opinion.

The 'inventor of school busing' changes his mind

By Luix Overbea
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston
The professor whose work nine years ago was widely cited to support court-ordered busing to integrate schools in the United States now believes courts are the "worst instruments" to achieve integration.

Dr. James S. Coleman, a sociology professor at the University of Chicago, says that more sophisticated ways than court orders are needed to integrate American society.

Among these ways he included such social changes as interracial marriage; summer camps for black and white teenagers, and new kinds of property insurance that would guarantee against falling property values after integration in neighborhoods.

Dr. Coleman caused controversy when he reported recently that court-ordered desegregation was hastening the resegregation of urban schools. Although in 1966 he found that black students performed better in racially mixed schools, he told the American Educational Research Association on April 2 of this year that new statistics between 1968 and 1973 had led him to his conclusion that white flight from the cities was leaving urban schools segregated again.

Making this week what he called "a mischievous appearance" in Boston — a city about to embark on a massive busing program to achieve court-ordered desegregation of all its 80,000 public-school students — Dr. Coleman amplified his new position during a series of interviews and public statements.

Suggesting that integration of American society is a desirable goal, Dr. Coleman said, "Courts are the worst instrument to be used to implement social policy. Courts are only a proper instrument to assure equal protection under the law."

White flight — hurried by decaying inner cities, declining housing, inferior public services, worsening schools — will continue in larger cities, school desegregation or not, he says. Under present trends, he says, most cities will become 90 percent black in school population, surrounded by white suburbs.

"I have no plans for stopping white flight or assuring school desegregation," said Dr. Coleman. He did suggest actions to develop a more interracial society:

- Inter marriages. "The best way to bring integration. There will be automatic activities designed to create more interracial harmony. Certainly many people will oppose mixed marriage; but it is not the business of the third party to oppose a voluntary arrangement between two people."
- Summer camps. "would bring teenagers of both races together, and they would learn to know and understand each other better."
- Federal property insurance "would guar-



Coleman — new ways to integrate

antee property values when a community becomes integrated."

Residential integration, Dr. Coleman says, was a "slow process, not an instant one." He suggests the creation of new cities such as Columbia, Maryland, or the rehabilitation of communities of older cities such as Hyde Park in Chicago, on the South Side near the University of Chicago.

He supports such ideas as magnet schools, test schools, and other approaches. He would like to see metropolitan school systems, but opposes court orders to achieve them.

"High-income whites would merely go to private schools," he said. "And that is what happens with court-ordered desegregation, too. Whites who can move leave the city or send their children to private schools. This leaves the schools to poor people, who are mostly black, in the cities."

Desegregation is working in most of the nation's smaller cities, and white population is stable, says Dr. Coleman. On the other hand, he said of Boston, only 17 percent black in total population. "Even if there is no forced school desegregation, the loss of whites would make city schools 90 percent black by the year 2008."

U.S. Air Force to increase European training flights

By the Associated Press

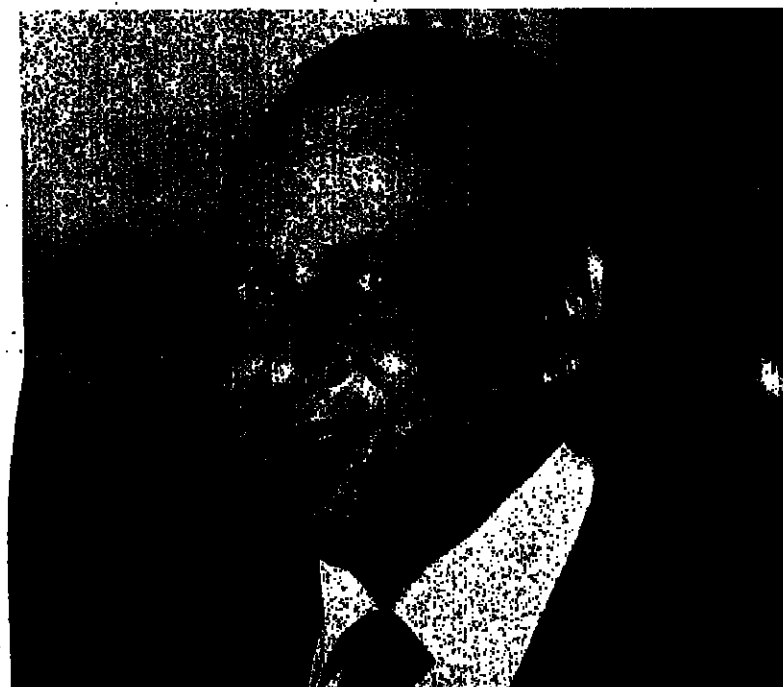
Washington
The Air Force says more than 180 jet fighters and fighter-bombers will make training flights to Europe during the coming year.

These will be the first extensive air exercises to Europe since the Vietnam war. Such exercises were sharply limited during the war because U.S. tactical air power was heavily concentrated in Southeast Asia.

Cyprus: uneasy peace one year after the fighting



Turkish Cypriot Denktash says partition could be avoided



Greek Cypriot Clerides opposes Turkish 'colonization'



Cyprus President Makarios sees long struggle ahead

Cyprus remains divided one year after Greek officers, acting for the former UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, overthrew President Makarios and precipitated a Turkish invasion of the island. The Turkish minority has declared a separate state, backed by the muscle of Turkish mainland troops, but unrecognized by other nations. The Athens-Ankara conflict over Cyprus and other matters has weakened NATO, and a crucial congressional debate over U.S. military aid to Turkey is due shortly. A Monitor correspondent who recently visited the island reports on the situation.

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Nicosia, Cyprus
Early on July 15, 1974, Greek Army officers in Cyprus under orders from the military junta then in power in Greece staged a violent coup against Archbishop Makarios, the President of this small island republic.

Archbishop Makarios escaped the junta's bullets, but his loyal forces were overcome by the better-armed rebels. Six days later, declaring that Turkey was exercising its treaty rights to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority, Turkish mainland Army and Air Force units attacked and invaded the island, probably ending for good the old Greek idea of *enosis*, or union of Cyprus and Greece.

The Greek junta collapsed, and Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis returned to Athens to restore civilian rule and democracy in Greece after seven years of dictatorship. Last December, with firm backing from Mr. Karamanlis, Archbishop Makarios returned to Nicosia to lead the Greek Cypriots again.

Today, one year later, this lovely island and its economy are shattered by war and a Turkish occupation of 40 percent of its territory. One-third of the 650,000 Cypriots, Greek and Turkish, are homeless refugees.

Confronting one another here and across the disputed waters and airspace over the Aegean Sea, Greece and Turkey have threatened a conflict which could deal a body blow to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), already weakened by the drift leftward of Italy and Portugal. On July 17, the U.S. Congress faces a deadline set by Turkey to lift the arms embargo it imposed last February because of lack of progress toward a Cyprus settlement, or face closure of U.S. military installations in Turkey.

The Greek Cypriot government of President Makarios, recognized before the Turkish invasion by all nations but Turkey as the legal government of all the Cyprus republic, accuses Turkey of "colonialism." The Turkish authorities have brought in a reported 8,000 mainland Turks, and are trying to attract thousands more, to occupy empty houses of Greek Cypriots who fled or were expelled from northern Cyprus.

May referendum recalled
In May the Turkish Cypriots voted in a referendum to set up their own federated autonomous Turkish Cypriot state, a move which the Greek Cypriots rejected.

The Turkish Cypriots chose a legislature and cabinet and selected as president Raouf Denktash, vice-president of Cyprus under the old 1960 constitution and leader of the formerly 18 percent Turkish Cypriot minority, now growing as Turks immigrate and Greeks emigrate.

Mr. Denktash's old friend from their days at law school in London, Glavkos Clerides, who is also speaker of the Cyprus House of Representatives, has twice since February met in Vienna with Mr. Denktash under United Nations auspices — continuing the dialogue on the island's political future which the two friendly

adversaries have conducted intermittently for nearly a decade.

They are due to begin again in Vienna July 28. Mr. Denktash says he will not attend unless the Turkish side follows up its promises. "The Greek side contends that the Turkish side is stalling anyway, and would welcome any proposal to halt the Vienna discussion. This, they argue, is because Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel cannot afford to be making the slightest concession to the Greek side. Mr. Denktash and other Turkish Cypriots heartily concur.

Both Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash meet beyond their own Cypriot colleagues for guidance from the governments in Ankara and Athens. In talks with this reporter, they set forth sharply differing views.

The Greek side reckons that there are still 15,000 Greek Cypriot refugees, some 15,000 of whom are in tent camps, as well as thousands of other persons who have lost homes and land or jobs.

The Turkish side contends these figures are inflated. Mr. Clerides and Archbishop Makarios frequently refer to 2,700 missing Greeks, unaccounted for when prisoners were returned or casualties counted.

Mr. Denktash says of the issue over missing persons: "Time and time again I have pointed out and pointed out to Mr. Clerides that we have no prisoners. We have 500 persons ourselves. Their families are constantly after me to find them. Often, I suggest to Mr. Clerides that we make a joint declaration that the side has prisoners and those missing persons are in this would be the honest, decent thing to do. Mr. Clerides says he cannot; that it is politically impossible for him to admit this to his people."

Mixed committee proposed

Mr. Clerides responds: "There were 30 Turkish Cypriots missing reported to the International Red Cross, and about 2,500 Greek missing. There is evidence, including eyewitness accounts — that at least 800 Greek Cypriots were arrested and taken away. We have their photos in Turkish newspapers. Were they summarily executed? Probably. I have no doubt the Turks were, too, though in smaller numbers. But we must clear this up."

"How am I to explain to a family, 'your son was arrested,' and then say he doesn't exist? We propose that a mixed committee under Red Cross auspices investigate these cases independently. The Turks refused."

Daily, the line drawn across the island by the Turkish occupation seems to become more of a barrier. For travelers arriving by air on either side are sometimes finding their passport stamps from one side rejected by the other, the way some Arab states reject a passport bearing Israeli stamps.

A Turkish Cypriot spokesman says transfers of Greek Cypriots from the Turkish-held portion of the island will continue unless the remaining "enclave" of about 8,000 Turkish Cypriots in the south, whom the Turkish claim are occasionally mistreated, are permitted to join their compatriots in northern Cyprus. Some 800 Greek Cypriots were shipped south recently.

Mr. Denktash says, "Of the 8,000 Turks in the south, maybe 30 to 100 want to stay where they are. All should have the right to leave. There are no Greek Cypriots in the northeast, the Karpas Peninsula, who want to go south. Clerides doesn't want them to."

Mr. Clerides responds, "The Turks in the south are under pressure from Ankara to go north. Denktash refuses to open schools for them where they are, so they cannot spare teachers to send south for their children. Naturally, those without children don't want to leave. They have lived all their lives in."

Mr. Denktash argues that the island's partition could be prevented by a kind of "interim government" of Greeks and Turks. This would give the Turkish Cypriots an international forum at conferences and would "bring back the UN they do not now enjoy, and would 'bring back' the UN and Turks back into contact in daily life and work."

He suggests an end to propaganda by both sides and formation of joint committees to manage ports and public utilities. (Both Greek and Turkish sectors of divided Nicosia depend on water from a reservoir in the Turkish-occupied Morphou region, whereas the

electric-power plant for all the islands is in the Greek port of Limassol. Another matter for joint consideration, he suggests, is reactivation of Nicosia airport, closed since the July, 1974, invasion.

government offered

Mr. Clerides' reaction: "After the first round of the Turkish invasion, in the presence of UN emissaries, I offered Denktash a joint government. He was well toward the idea, but after a trip to Ankara he dropped it. Neither ports, electricity, or water are government functions; they are run in Cyprus by public-utility corporations."

But perhaps we can talk about it," Denktash says he is talking about a "bizonal, bicultural system" which Mr. Clerides insists he does not in principle.

Greek Cypriot and foreign residents in the north have been widespread looting of their property since invasion. In Turkish-occupied Famagusta, all of the former Greek inhabitants are now refugees, and shops have been emptied of their contents. Turkish Cypriot authorities, and many articles have been put on sale in official Turkish shops.

American-owned Cyprus Mines Corporation, which mined copper in the Greek zone and exported it to Xeros, now Turkish-occupied, on the northern coast, ceased operation last year. Turkish troops guard the port and loading facilities. Many houses and farms owned by Greek Cypriots who are U.S. citizens have been occupied by Turks. U.S. diplomats estimate that the service stations, whose status is uncertain, is worth many millions of dollars.

Mr. Clerides has invited foreigners to work with us in the tourism in northern Cyprus," says Mr. Denktash. President Makarios' government, which has lost 70 percent of its former income that came from tourism, has threatened prosecution of companies or individuals engaged in travel business with the Turks, it tries to prosecute importers who buy citrus and other products exported by the Turks from the zone.

Mr. Denktash says, "We consider ourselves custodians of foreign property in our zone."

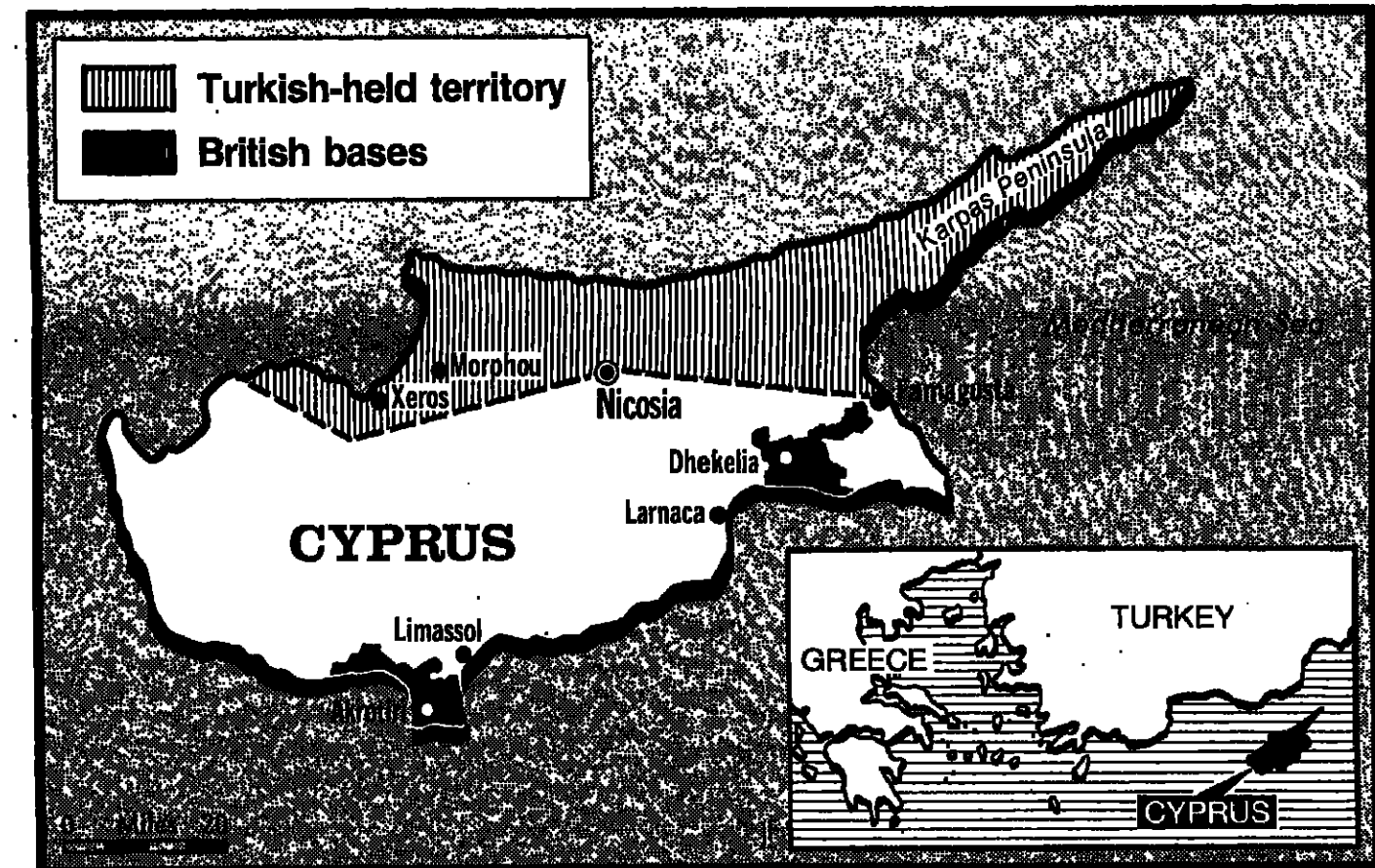
'national' program charged

Mr. Clerides charges the Turks have already moved 40,000 mainland Turks into Greek property in a "national" program, and plan to bring in 100,000 more to alter the whole population balance of the island. (This change is being accentuated by emigration of Greek Cypriots, between 15,000 and 20,000 of whom are estimated to have left, mainly for Britain, the United States, and Canada since the invasion.)

Mr. Clerides adds, "they are aggravating the situation by stealing property and putting on sale the stolen property." In any case, claim Greek Cypriot leaders, it is the Turkish Army of between 35,000 and 40,000 (Western observers give more credence to the latter figure), commanded by Gen. Vahit Gunari, who "really gives the orders to Denktash."

On the record, Mr. Denktash insists his relations with the Turkish military are good and that implications do not get along are "wishful thinking." He says they will leave when we no longer have need of them. Other Turkish Cypriots, however, do grumble about the behavior of Turkish mainland soldiers and the Turkish mainland now being settled in the zone, including the peasants from underdeveloped areas.

President Makarios, still popular with his Greek Cypriot people but no longer riding the wave of national adulation that welcomed him back to the island last December, continues to speak of "long-term" solutions to end the Turkish occupation. His aides say he does not mean guerrilla warfare, which the Turks are certain to crush mercilessly. It would, rather, be a certain effort to interest the world community, through the United Nations (whose resolutions on Cyprus have been ignored by Turkey) and outside it, perhaps in a "backed idea for a new Cyprus conference" by nonaligned and Communist states, as well as "guarantors" of Cyprus independence under treaties — Britain, Greece, and Turkey — with especially involved because of its two big military bases on the island.



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer



Turkish troops underwrite Turkish minority's partition of Cyprus into separate state



Some of the 650,000 Cypriots who are homeless — refugee camp at British base

science

Safer space flight ahead

By David F. Salisbury
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Johnson Space Center, Houston

Together with its meaning for detente, the historic U.S.-Soviet linkup in space is also a step toward helping to make future space flights safer.

The linkup, and the handshake between Thomas Stafford and Alexei Leonov which followed it, was made possible by a new universal docking gear which fitted Apollo and Soyuz capsules.

It is possible for the same docking gear to be used in the future if spacecraft of one nation are marooned in space and need help from another.

In fact, the Soviets agreed to discuss a joint space flight two months after the president of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, Dr. Philip Handler, took to the Soviet Union a U.S. novel which told of cosmonauts rescuing astronauts in space.

At the time, the Soviets were having trouble with their man-in-space program. Now it will be possible in the future to plan international rescue missions — although the missions will have to await a new generation of spacecraft, officials concede. Current space hardware puts severe limitations on rescue possibilities.

An article in a Moscow-published magazine, International Affairs, about the mission explains that the present achievement "will acquire special importance when the 'population' and 'traffic' in space grow, as more and more countries take part in world astronautics."

Emergency plans for the Apollo-Soyuz rendezvous illustrate the limitations.

The Apollo capsule carries spare seats which makes it possible to return to earth with both the American and Soviet crews. This would be the course of action if severe problems developed aboard the Soyuz.

However, if the Apollo failed, the Soyuz could only return two men. It does not have room for any more.

Besides the Apollo capsule being used for the joint mission, only one other is complete.



Saturn rocket's fiery wake mirrored in Florida swamp as it blasts astronauts towards Soyuz rendezvous

It would take about a month to prepare for launch, say space agency officials. So if a major problem should develop in the active Soviet program planned for the latter part of the 1970s rescue by Americans would be difficult.

In the immediate future, Soviet space activities will be centered in Salyut space stations. Cosmonauts will be ferried to and from them in Soyuz capsules similar to the one being used in the current mission.

According to Boris Kunashev of the In-

stitute of Space Research in Moscow, cosmonauts in their space station can be rescued even if difficulties develop in the Soyuz capsule which ferried them up from earth.

The malfunctioning capsule can be jettisoned from the space station and an empty Soyuz controlled entirely from the ground can be launched and docked automatically.

Soviet information officers say they intend to use the universal docking mechanism on "all prospective space programs."

When the American space shuttle begins

operation in 1980 the U.S. will have extremely effective rescue ability.

The shuttle is a rocket-powered glider the size of a small jet airliner (DC-9) with foot-by-15-foot cargo bay. It is designed to carry everything from small space laboratories to as many as eight different satellites simultaneously.

With its mechanical arm the shuttle can grab on to both a Soyuz space ship and a station joined together and fit them both in cargo bay.

Hawaiian volcano puts on lurid firework display

By Hal Glatzer
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The Associated Press called from Washington, D.C., to find out if any towns were threatened by the lava flows.

Robert Tilling, scientist-in-charge of the U.S. Geological Survey's Hawaiian Volcanoes Observatory, took the call with his customary patience at 3 a.m., Hawaii time. CBS, NBC, and ABC News had already called to ask the same thing: "so had every all-night radio station in Honolulu and one from Los Angeles. 'Is there any danger?' they had wanted to know."

There wasn't. In this age when nearly every turn of the earth brings with it a "natural disaster," or a movie about one, it is reassuring that Mauna Loa, dormant for 33 years, can erupt without causing any trouble.

One of the world's largest volcanoes, Mauna Loa is over 13,000 feet high; its exact dimensions were scheduled to be measured by a federal geological team next month, but whatever they were they have changed now.

A shield volcano, it takes its name from its long, low, rounded shape. Unlike the conical, pointed volcanoes, Mauna Loa has never been explosive in eruption; its most famous volcanic activity is called the "crescent of fire," a chain of fissures, large and small, that open in a line, generally along its northeast-southwest backbone ridge.

Mauna Loa occupies nearly all of the southern half of the island of Hawaii. It had erupted on the average of once every three years, since it was first scientifically monitored in 1832 up through the first half of the 20th century. In 1942, a flow reached within

three miles of the city of Hilo, to the northeast, and in 1949 some evacuated fishing villages on the Kona coast, to the southwest, were inundated by lava which steamed into the sea. Since June, 1950, however, Mauna Loa has been inactive.

Previous to the recent eruption, there had been indications that Mauna Loa's quiet period was over. For several months, Mr. Tilling had been monitoring an increase in seismic activity and a swelling at its summit. His staff of seismologists and volcanologists had already installed measuring devices there, but the radiotelemetry equipment which would have broadcast their data back to the observatory had not been installed.

Bob Tilling and his wife, Susan, know how to live with volcanoes. There's a seismic alarm in their house at the Volcanoes National Park headquarters. When it goes off, they know that there is a significant earthquake or pre-eruption tremor. On Saturday, July 6, it rang at about 11:30 p.m. Fourteen minutes later, bundled in warm clothes, the Tillings could see a red glow at the summit of Mauna Loa.

At 4 a.m. on Sunday, volcano scientist and pilot Jack Lockwood and U.S. Geological Survey photographer Robin Holcomb were in a light plane, circling the summit crater. They reported fountains of lava 20 to 30 meters high, with smoke plumes reaching up to three times higher, illuminated by the glow from the caldera, called the crater of Mokuaweoweo, which was filled with spurting lava.

At 4 a.m. Mr. Lockwood reported that the southwest rift zone had begun to die down and that the northeast rift was becoming more active. Small breaks in the clouds had appeared, and Mr. Tilling, at the observatory, could now see the line of fiery sprays of mol-

ten rock seemingly "just over" the top of the mountain. The glow lit up the fume clouds as they arched up and then away from the site, blown by the prevailing northeast trade winds.

At 5:15 a.m. about the same time Messrs. Lockwood and Holcomb landed in Hilo to refuel, reports of the volcanic activity came in from an unexpected direction. Hawaii's other great mountain is the inactive volcano Mauna Kea — taller by 100 feet than Mauna Loa but not nearly so massive. On its summit are several astronomical observatories, the largest of which is operated by the University of Hawaii. At midnight, an astronomer there was distracted from his work by the glow from Mauna Loa, 30 miles across what is popularly called the "saddle" between the mountains. From his vantage point at 13,796 feet, he could see the entire progress of the eruption. He filmed it in time-lapse, and then phoned the Volcano Observatory to report that "the whole caldera is bright red; we can see fingers of lava coming down into the saddle along the northeast slope."

The plane was aloft again by 6 a.m. Former observatory director Don Peterson was aboard this time; he confirmed sighting two flows as low as 11,500 feet elevation on the mountain's northeast rift, one 100 meters wide and the other 800 meters wide.

There was some anxiety at this point because, theoretically, the lava might head toward Hilo, but an hour later, the flows had slowed. Fountaining had dropped to about 15 meters, Mr. Peterson reported.

At 8:30, the rocky slopes of Mauna Loa's old flows were bathed in red dawn light, and the glow at the top seemed to fade, both from its own burning-out and from the clear blue sky that lightened behind it.

After 12 hours of brilliance, Mauna Loa was quiet again.



Mauna Loa belches smoke

financial

Arms deal of the century

Why American F-16 beat French Mirage

By David R. Francis
Business and financial editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Brussels
France's Mirage F1/MS3, according to a European air expert, is a "splendid sunset." The General Dynamics F-16, he added, is a "beautiful sunrise."

That comment, to a considerable extent, explains why the United States aircraft won the sales battle for the so-called "arms deal of the century."

The F-16 was the newly designed start of a new-generation aircraft. The Dassault aircraft was the latest in a series of improved Mirage aircraft.

In other words, the F-16 was the superior plane.

That was apparently a key factor in the Belgian decision last month to buy 102 of the F-16s worth about \$822 million. That decision clinched a joint agreement with the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway for a total of 306 aircraft. The U.S. Air Force wants at least 650.

Worldwide final total sales, it is estimated, could reach 3,000 for a value of more than \$18 billion. That will make it the biggest series of deals in the history of the aircraft industry.

Here are some of the design features, in the view of General Dynamics people here, which make the aircraft attractive:

- It has "fly by wire" flight control. Wires from four computers transmit electronic commands — as vs. mechanical links — to the control surfaces of the aircraft.

- When the pilot gives the aircraft basic instructions with his controls, the computer changes the control surfaces to minimize wind drag and alter the center of gravity of the aircraft. This gives the craft enormous maneuverability, a major asset for a fighter plane.

- As seen in the accompanying photograph, the F-16 can make incredibly tight turns.

- The body of the aircraft is designed as part of the lifting surface. This improves the plane's efficiency and reduces weight.

- Using knowledge obtained from its space research, General Dynamics designed a "high G cockpit." The pilot sits in a reclining position that enables him to withstand 1.5 to 2 Gs (one G is the force of gravity) more than in other aircraft.

This enables the pilot to take a tighter turn



F-16: 'Beautiful sunrise' scores over 'splendid sunset'

without blacking out as centrifugal force pushes blood from his brain.

- The F-16 has a good fuel-consumption performance. It consumes about 20 percent less fuel than its Mirage competitor. With rising fuel costs, this is more important.

- The aircraft itself promises to be relatively cheap — about \$6 million apiece. This was possible for General Dynamics because of the huge sales already assured to the U.S. Air Force (650 planes).

Dassault had a potential order from the French Air Force of only 120 Mirage F1-MS3s. Research, development and other start-up costs would have had to be spread over a smaller number of aircraft.

Reports from Paris indicate that even the French Air Force is now reluctant to buy the new Mirage. It has apparently set its sights on a futuristic ACP (avion de combat futur), a twin-engine, low-level fighter-bomber unveiled 18 months ago as a prototype by Dassault. It would be ready for service in the early 1980s if the project is pushed along.

Deliveries of the General Dynamics plane to

the U.S. Air Force are to start about mid-1978 and to the four European air forces early in 1979.

Another sales point for General Dynamics was its willingness to share work on the F-16 with European manufacturers. Work equivalent to 40 percent of the value of the aircraft ordered in Europe is to be undertaken on this side of the Atlantic.

In addition, the European factories are to get 10 percent of the value of the U.S. Air Force order and up to 15 percent of the value of any "third country" orders.

Ironically, here in Belgium a subsidiary of Dassault will receive large subcontracts from General Dynamics.

The French argued that Belgium and the Netherlands should buy the Mirage to support a European aerospace industry. But the Dutch did not think the Mirage a suitable aircraft for this purpose. Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans pointed out that the French did not even take part in NATO integration nor in the Eurogroup that concerned itself with European procurement.



Good turn

Contrails show F-16 curling tighter than Phantom fighter. Both aircraft began maximum-performance turn at same speed and altitude.

Peugeot predicts healthier European car industry in summer of '76

By Charles E. Dole
Automotive editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris
How fast will Europe's badly battered auto industry get back on the road to recovery?

Pierre Peugeot, chairman of the holding company which controls France's No. 2 car producer and one of Europe's most optimistic seers, looks for a marked upturn by the middle of next year.

"By the summer of 1976," he predicts, "the European auto industry should return to more healthy levels barring a worsening of the current recession or another Mideast oil embargo."

Umberto Agnelli, managing director of Fiat, on the other hand, is far more pessimistic, saying he doesn't look for a return to 1973 levels at least till 1979. Most other prognosticators agree it may be somewhere in between.

Regardless of who is right, the European auto industry is slogging through its deepest crisis since the end of World War II. Manufacturers have watched sales fall off from an all-time record of 11 million in 1973 to an expected 7.2 million in 1975.

New car sales in France now are running about 20 percent below the rate of two years ago.

"Western Europe," Mr. Peugeot told a group of six U.S. auto writers recently, "has had economic growth in every year since 1945.

We were unprepared for any fluctuation in the trend."

Some manufacturers now are burdened with unsold cars. Fiat, for instance, still has well over 200,000 cars in stock, down from around 300,000 the first of the year.

At the same time, European automakers are watching a steady stream of cut-price new cars from Eastern-bloc countries roll into the showrooms, thus grabbing some of the sales which might otherwise go to the Flats of Europe. The prices are as much as 20 percent lower than newer-model cars built in Western Europe.

Ironically, the Italian carmaker helped to set up the plants in Eastern Europe and even provided the car to be produced, an old-model Fiat 124.

Fourteen big-time auto companies are battling for a Western European market about the same size as that in the United States.

Only five of these companies showed a major profit in 1974. Daimler-Benz and BMW in West Germany, Peugeot in France, and Volvo and Saab-Scania in Sweden. At least that many had staggering losses for the year, including Volkswagen.

The West German automaker, which already has slashed its work force and now is planning to cut it by another 25,000 in the next 18 months, recorded a whopping \$400 million loss in 1974. The prospects for 1975, according to one U.S. bank economist, are for at least a further \$200 million loss. A VW official in the

United States says it could be as bad as last year.

The VW plight is linked not only to the economic downturn but also to the huge capital expenditure required for the development and production of an all-new line of cars to replace the aging lineup typified by the long-popular Beetle.

To counter their downturn in Europe, some of the firms, such as Peugeot in France and Alfa Romeo in Italy, are looking for sharply higher sales in the U.S. and are designing cars with the U.S. market in mind.

The automakers' plight is forcing several governments to funnel vast sums of money into the auto companies, either directly or indirectly.

The French Government, after a major infusion of cash, brought about the merger of Peugeot with sibling Citroen. Volvo took over DAF, a small Dutch carmaker. In Britain, the government is committed to a rescue operation for British Leyland, a hard-pressed producer facing massive labor problems and a dearth of cash.

Mr. Peugeot says that a major stumbling block in the recovery of the French auto industry is an expected shortage of capital investment funds over the next few years as competition for investment cash intensifies.

The anticipated lack of capital applies to other European automakers, and to the U.S. industry as well.

Meanwhile, used-car sales are booming in France, declares Mr. Peugeot, largely be-

cause of the far lower down payment required of the buyer. France plus a 30 percent national tax on all new cars and also requires a 25 percent down payment.

In a tightening economy, the used car looks like a good deal to the French buyer.

EXCHANGE RATES

	DOLLARS
Argentine peso	.040
Australian dollar	1.320
Austrian schilling	.056
Belgian franc	.0289
Brazilian cruzeiro	.123
British pound	2.175
Canadian dollar	.971
Colombian peso	.034
Danish krone	.175
French franc	.233
Dutch guilder	.386
Hong Kong dollar	.202
Israeli pound	.170
Italian lire	.001
Japanese yen	.003
Mexican peso	.080
Norwegian krone	.189
Portuguese escudo	.040
South African rand	1.405
Spanish peseta	.017
Swedish krona	.239
Swiss franc	.777
Venezuelan bolivar	.234
W. German Deutsche Mark	.398

travel

Walled Rothenburg: fairy-tale city of Bavaria

By Gail Andersen

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Rothenburg, Bavaria, by highway from modern Munich is a step-by-step journey into the past.

First, a drive of about 40 miles along a major highway to Augsburg. Then northward on a winding strip of blacktop known as the "Romantic Road," which extends from Frankfurt and Würzburg to the Alps.

It's an easy few hours trip past small farms, with lunch, perhaps, at Nordlingen or Dinkelsbühl. As their names and the architecture of their buildings suggest, these towns, with their roots extending deep into the past, are a preparation for what lies ahead.

About 130 miles from Munich, the walled city of Rothenburg appears, like the illustrated cover of a fairy-tale book. The Romantische Strasse dawdles on northward; but first there is much to see here.

With a history that goes back to the year 419 and the Roman Empire, Rothenburg has preserved the past as its gift to current generations. Timbered dwellings whose builders were not slaves to the level or the square. Walls and sturdy public buildings of brick and stone, undaunted by the passing of centuries. (One secret to the durability of some of these structures was the mortar used — a mixture of chalk, egg white, cottage cheese, and sand, which became stone-like with age.)

Center of interest is the Marktplatz, with its "new" town hall (Rathaus), started in 1572. A massive front portico, the latest major addition to this Renaissance building, was constructed quite recently — for Rothenburg, that is — in 1981.

The "old" town hall, started in 1240, still stands behind its overpowering successor. Its 165-foot tower is an architectural curiosity, having been constructed atop a building already standing, with no foundation of its own on the ground.

For a small fee visitors can corkscrew their way up creaking, irregular steps to a sweeping view of the town and the Tauber River, which winds below it.

Looking down upon a hodgepodge of steep-pitched roofs and fancifully shaped towers is like getting a second-story view of a shop full of witches' hats. But instead of the usual Halloween black, these creations are colored the time-muted red of scalloped tiles.

Imposing a bit of the 20th century on the scene are scattered TV antennas and streets lined with cars, mostly those of visitors.

Some of Rothenburg's history has dates of only three digits A.D. The town was started as homes and businesses clustered for protection about a castle on the hill overlooking the river.



View from 'old' town hall: steeped roofs and fanciful towers

By Gail Andersen

Additional fortifications were built as strongholds for the East Franks, the Salians, and the Hohenstaufens. For many years Rothenburg was a Free Town of the Empire.

During the Middle Ages, it was a center of wealth and political control. Many buildings from that period still remain.

Standing out among the strong characters who contributed to Rothenburg's prestige was Bürgermeister Heinrich Toppler, who died about four decades before Christopher Columbus was born.

In advance of his time, Toppler was a social reformer who opened up opportunities to the common people, traditionally "kept in their place" by the wealthier ruling classes.

His accomplishments are many. But the most striking visual monument to his memory is Toppler Castle in the Tauber River valley just below town.

Toppler Castle stands five stories high, plus basement, and is not much bigger in girth than one of California's largest sequoia trees. With just a couple of small rooms on each floor, it offers an experience in vertical living like keeping house on a ladder.

Built by the illustrious Bürgermeister as a summer hideaway and hunting lodge, it is said to have been used by guests until only about 15 years ago.

The most incredible thing is that it escapes loads of camera-dangling sightseers. One just happens upon it as he walks or rides down a casual little road along the river. But at a nearby house is a person who will guide the visitor across a little drawbridge-like walkway, open the door, and politely wait until all five stories, furnished as when in use, have been inspected.

Across the road from the castle, a mill in use, hums and mutters as diverted from the river swish beneath its floor, turn its softly clacking machinery. Again, it is thankful for the absence of sightseers, refreshment stands, and perfume.

In the 1800s Rothenburg was discovered by artists and poets, charmed by its timeless the passing of centuries. Etchings by E. Geissendorfer and paintings by English Arthur Wasse and others brought its fairy architecture to the attention of the world.

Today, about a half-dozen times, are them dating back to the Middle Ages, accommodate visitors. Retaining the atmosphere, they blend with, rather than impose upon, their surroundings.

Rothenburg also has a campground, youth hostels.

Dining here can be an event in itself. Quality kitchens, rock-solid tables, and history-steeped dining halls are typical German foods and international wine.

Terraced gardens adjoin some of the restaurants, religious edifices, and public buildings. They delight those who long for that intangible allure acquired by certain green thumbs and diligent digging.

Mini-gardens planted in window boxes planters throughout the town and delight the eye.

Roads leading out of Rothenburg are several choices. One can travel northward to Würzburg, then on to Frankfurt, take another scenic drive known as "Castle Route" westward to Hildesheim, eastward to Nuremberg.

Rothenburg has an airport for private planes nearby. But the nearest international airports are at Frankfurt and Nuremberg.

A railway also serves the city, with trains from Steinach and Ansbach that connect Trans Europe Express.

Pleasant hotels, both first-class and second-class, are abundant in Rothenburg. The first-class category, there is the Hotel, made up of five modern century patrician houses (\$24.05 to \$32.45 to \$44.40, double); the Hotel, the Hotel built in 1478 (\$13.75 to \$23.45 to \$32.40, double); and the Hotel, a small hostelry on a quiet overlooking the river (\$12.30 to \$20.10 to \$23.45 to \$32.40, double). Most of these hotels have private baths.

In the tourist class, there is the Hotel, located in a historic building near Hall Square — despite this, it has a swimming pool (\$10.30 to \$20.10, double); and the Reichs-Kuchentel, located near the Market Square (\$12.05, single; no double rates given).

But the holiday industry is full of fears that the economic climate may yet ruin the good weather. Other grumblers include the farming community, who complain that seven weeks of dry spells have already cut milk and potato production.

At least foreign tourism

does not seem to be suffering. In London's West End shopping areas the natives are heavily outnumbered by assorted Americans, Canadians, French, German, Scandinavian and Japanese visitors. The Japanese are the ones with the most expensive cameras.

Last year Britain entertained some eight million visitors from abroad, and this year's total is expected to be at least a quarter of a million higher. While not as cheap as Madrid or Belgrade, first-class London hotel rooms are still a good deal cheaper than Geneva, Paris or Amsterdam, and the downward drift of the pound is making foreign currency go further.

Another worthwhile tour, scheduled for the second day, is to Peterhof, about 25 miles from Leningrad. Peterhof, with its 128 fountains, sprawling streams of water from a mountain, and openings, may be the Versailles of the North. It was built by Peter the Great in the early 1700s and embraced many of the early 19th-century architectural styles. The parkland where the Soviet people spend weekends to spread in the shade of the trees.

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The Hermitage is an immense building, consisting of four connecting crystal palaces.

A whiff of the old country

By Toby J. McIntosh

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Vancouver Island, Canada, seems like a glimpse of Great Britain.

The architecture and accents have obvious British influences. There are cricket clubs and tea parties. Public and private gardens flourish in the mild, humid climate. Even the bird population reflects the Mother country: English skylarks were imported in the early 1800s and have flourished.

Happily enough, this British aspect has a genuineness not spoiled by shops selling tartans, Irish linen, or imported "sweets."

The trip to the island provides a mini-ocean voyage. The large ferries either cross the Strait of Georgia on the east or the exotic-sounding Juan de Fuca Strait to the south. They wind through the rocky coastal islands — whose pine trees disguise many summer homes, but seem wild anyway. Fishing trawlers and sail boats pass the ferry, which toots a magnificent horn that echoes between the islands.

Vancouver Island is the largest, being slightly less than 300 miles in length, with mountains of the Insular Range rising over 6,000 feet high. Four-fifths of the island is above 2,500 feet, and little of the land is arable. It is a rugged setting for Victoria. The city, in 1842 the territorial headquarters of the Hudson Bay Company, was the focus of Pacific politics and development until the end of the century.

Victoria now has a population of about 200,000 but it seems smaller. The suburbs are tucked away unobtrusively (or at least not where the major sights are).

The downtown area isn't overwhelmed with skyscrapers, and there are few freeways. In the central downtown, the older buildings are not encased in metal, and much of their charm is preserved.

By the Victoria Inner Harbor stand the most

impressive local buildings, Parliament Hall and the Empress Hotel.

For those who can't afford the \$37 to \$42 per couple for a night at the deluxe Empress, a stroll through the main lobby is a must. Afternoon tea there is a bargain, considering the atmosphere.

By the way, cheaper accommodations are abundant. For campers, the Goldstream Provincial Park, very popular in the summer, is about 20 minutes from town. Cool Aid, the local youth hostel, provides a bunk and two meals for 75 cents.

Gardens are a major attraction of Victoria, which seems to be covered with luxuriant natural growth anyway. There are rain forests on the less-populated west coast of the island, where the annual rainfall is 60 to 100 inches. In the rain shadow on the eastern coast, the precipitation is less, about 35 inches annually.

Beacon Hill Park has lovely public gardens, as well as a huge totem pole and a path along the ocean bluff where residents stroll with their dogs.

The highly touted Butchart Gardens, about 40 minutes north of the city by car, are best suited for a full day's outing — especially considering the \$3 fee.

Several places have excellent free gardens though; for example, the estate of the Royal Roads Military College, about 45 minutes east of town, open only in the afternoons, and the Government House in Victoria.

A drive or a bicycle ride through the fancier residential sections, particularly near Oak Bay, is worthwhile to see the gardens, the houses, and the view.

Many of the best attractions are free. Especially unusual is the Provincial Museum: Exhibits are housed in appropriate settings and sound track "guides" are available. There are replicas of a ship's interior, old shops and offices, and a mine, among other things. Surprisingly interesting is a collection of stuffed animals.

At nearby Thunderbird Park stands an Indian ceremonial longhouse and a totem pole



Fishing boats ride at anchor on Vancouver Island

Canadian Government Travel Bureau

collection. Sometimes carving demonstrations are held there.

One truly straightforward self-guided tour is of the Craigdarroch Castle, built by coal baron Robert Dunsmuir for his wife to fulfill a honeymoon promise. Climbing to the top affords a good view of Victoria and is the best way to see the castle's finest features — intricate woodwork, curved Italian stained glass windows, and the staircase.

The castle art collection is undistinguished, comprising homey Scottish scenes for the most part, but the music from students of the Victoria School of Music, housed there, adds interest. (For art, try the nearby city gallery, a modest but obviously vigorous place.)

For help in locating evening entertainment, pick up a copy of the Daily Colonist. One day I

sampled showed 12 movies, two plays, and four dances available.

During a week's visit I attended the opening night of the Victoria Symphony, where fancy dress was worn and the national anthem and "God Save the Queen" were sung proudly. In contrast, I spent another evening cheering the local minor-league hockey team.

For side trips, the island offers several nearby towns. Nanaimo, about 70 miles north, isn't very picturesque, but the road there provides a good view of the off-shore islands. Also, after having been to Nanaimo, you can say you've seen the "Bathtub Racing Capital of the World" — no mean claim. On the way, stop at the Petroglyph Park for some mystery in the form of little-understood native stone carvings.

Holidaying in Britain? Try a rural treasure-hunt for size

By Francis Renny

London

All over Britain schools have come out — or "broken up" as the English say. They get less of a summer vacation, but more at Christmas and Easter, than their American and European opposite numbers. This year it looks as if the kids will have a real summer, a treat they don't always get.

But the holiday industry is full of fears that the economic climate may yet ruin the good weather. Other grumblers include the farming community, who complain that seven weeks of dry spells have already cut milk and potato production.

At least foreign tourism

does not seem to be suffering. In London's West End shopping areas the natives are heavily outnumbered by assorted Americans, Canadians, French, German, Scandinavian and Japanese visitors. The Japanese are the ones with the most expensive cameras.

Last year Britain entertained some eight million visitors from abroad, and this year's total is expected to be at least a quarter of a million higher. While not as cheap as Madrid or Belgrade, first-class London hotel rooms are still a good deal cheaper than Geneva, Paris or Amsterdam, and the downward drift of the pound is making foreign currency go further.

Only 60 percent of Britons

Conversely, however,

there have been some unpleasant shocks for Britons who take their money abroad. With the pound declining, travel agencies have been obliged to make surcharges on their original prices for packaged tours. Although there have been murmurs of complaint their customers have made few cancellations. It will probably be the tips, gifts and extras that suffer. Some foreign hoteliers who had expected mass cancellations by the British, and had taken on German bookings to replace them, are now finding too many clients chasing too few beds.

Well over three million will be on camping holidays, even though "British" campfires compare very poorly, on the whole, with those on the continent. Motels are still few and far between in Britain; many families increase

actually get away from home for a vacation, and three quarters of them do not leave the country. They may manage only a week away, and the small seaside boarding house remains the mainstay of the business. Classic proletarian resorts like Blackpool and Southend remain popular with middle-aged and elderly folk, who like to recapitulate the golden days of their youth — with fish-and-chips and donkey rides and a band at the end of the pier — but the young people themselves go off to Spain if they can afford it, in search of a suntan. If they can't raise the money, they may take to the English road with a tent.

ingly favor the hire of cottages, with self-catering (housekeeping) facilities, and these can cost from £20 to £60 a week according to the area.

More than two million holiday-makers will be in caravans or mobile homes. Many of these are on permanent sites. Those which are towed from place to place are a major misery for the motorist who is trying to make time along the narrow lanes of rural England. For anyone motoring in Britain at holiday time the motto has to be "Patience." Alternatively you can take your car to the Irish Republic, where there seems to be no traffic at all.

This reporter's own recommendation for a holiday in Britain is a kind of rural treasure-hunt. All you need (besides money) is a car, the Automobile Association's list of Bed-and-Breakfast establishments, and the handbook

issued by the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas (COSIRA). This a guide to hundreds of the craft workshops now flourishing in the countryside all over.

There are blacksmiths (for wrought iron), weavers, potters, furniture-makers, jewelers, saddlers, basket-weavers, woodcarvers... A personal recommendation is to ramble round the small craft potteries of West Cornwall, many of them set up in abandoned Methodist chapels.

The treasure-hunter takes his main meals at inns. Come the evening, he pulls in wherever he sees a Bed-and-Breakfast sign leaning from a hedge. The chances are he'll be given the front parlor for the evening, a better bed than many cheap hotels, and a hearty bacon-and-egg breakfast next morning. Last summer, in Wales, it was possible to get the lot for as little as £1.50 a head: twice that sum would have seemed economical.

The astonishing variety of Britain's miniature, well-kept landscapes is a joy throughout such a ramble. So are the ancient parish churches, their monuments and inscriptions. At Hendon, just outside London, there is a rhyming epitaph of great jollity, ending with the lines:

"He gave to none de- signed offence; So hint, but qui mai y pense."

Leningrad and the priceless paintings of the Hermitage

By Levitt F. Morris

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The overnight cruise from Helsinki to this city aboard the SS Bore III can be an interesting experience. But travelers used to the easygoing ways of many other tourist ships will find the Bore III a different kind of experience.

First-time visitors to this city of east usually are greeted by strict police surveillance. As the ship ties up at the dock, somber-faced, youthful border guards take their stations at prescribed intervals along its 300-foot length.

Attempts by passengers to extract a smile or a friendly greeting from these guards are generally met with blank stares. Disembarkation is a long and tedious process for the nearly 300 passengers. Only one narrow gangway is used and only two border guards process passports.

Passengers must yield their passports each time they leave the ship; they receive a small numbered card, a "propusk," in return. This "propusk" must be guarded carefully, for if lost it takes considerable red tape to reclaim the passport. When returning to the ship, the "propusk" must be handed in and the passport will be returned.

Among a few of the concessions the Soviet Union has made for Western visitors on a cruise like this is to waive the usual visa requirement. However, a valid passport is necessary, and the information on it must be relayed to the booking center TRAVEL, U.S.S.R. Department, Etelarenta, Helsinki, at least 12 days before departure. Reservations must be made by Tuesday the Friday after Sept. 12, and be made through the Finnish Tourist offices, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017, and other capital cities of the world.

The Bore III offers comfortable accommodations and adequate dining facilities with a fabulous Finnish smorgasbord at both lunch and dinner. Rate for a double cabin with lower and upper berths, wash basin, shower, and toilet is \$280 per person. For rooms with only a wash basin, the cost is \$192. The price of the cruise includes two days and one night in Leningrad, all meals on the ship and ashore, as well as sight-seeing and entertainment on land.

It is permissible to change money into rubles either before leaving the ship or at the harbor pavilion, where the bank is open on the day of arrival from 9 to 11 a.m. It is illegal to take out any rubles, and the money, if any is left, must be changed back before departure.

Intourist guides who speak fluent English lead the tours of Leningrad and give a running commentary on the city's background and its role in the structure of the socialist system of the country. The buses are large and comfortable and have little or no trouble traveling through the heart of the city because there are so few private automobiles.

It is quick to note that the Leningrad women have adopted the miniskirt, though few wear pant suits. Some of the young men have gone in for page-boy hair cuts and beards, but for the most part males are cleanly shaven and have short hair.

Our guide informed us that there are 17 active churches in Leningrad. Russian Orthodox churches were in the majority, with one Baptist and one Roman Catholic edifice holding regular services.

The city tour includes a look at the Bronze Horseman Statue, the Admiralty, its golden roof and pencil-thin spire rising above the other buildings; the Peter and Paul Fortress, Leningrad's oldest building; the Aurora, a three-masted cruiser which played an important role in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution; and last but not least, the Hermitage, one of the great art museums of the world.

The Hermitage is an immense building, consisting of four connecting crystal palaces.

It contains priceless paintings by many of the world's greatest artists: Rembrandt, Poussin, Titian, Van Dyck, Manet, and others.

Another worthwhile tour, scheduled for the second day, is to Peterhof, about 25 miles from Leningrad. Peterhof, with its 128 fountains, sprawling streams of water from a mountain, and openings, may be the Versailles of the North. It was built by Peter the Great in the early 1700s and embraced many of the early 19th-century architectural styles. The parkland where the Soviet people spend weekends to spread in the shade of the trees.

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children

Footprints of young explorers

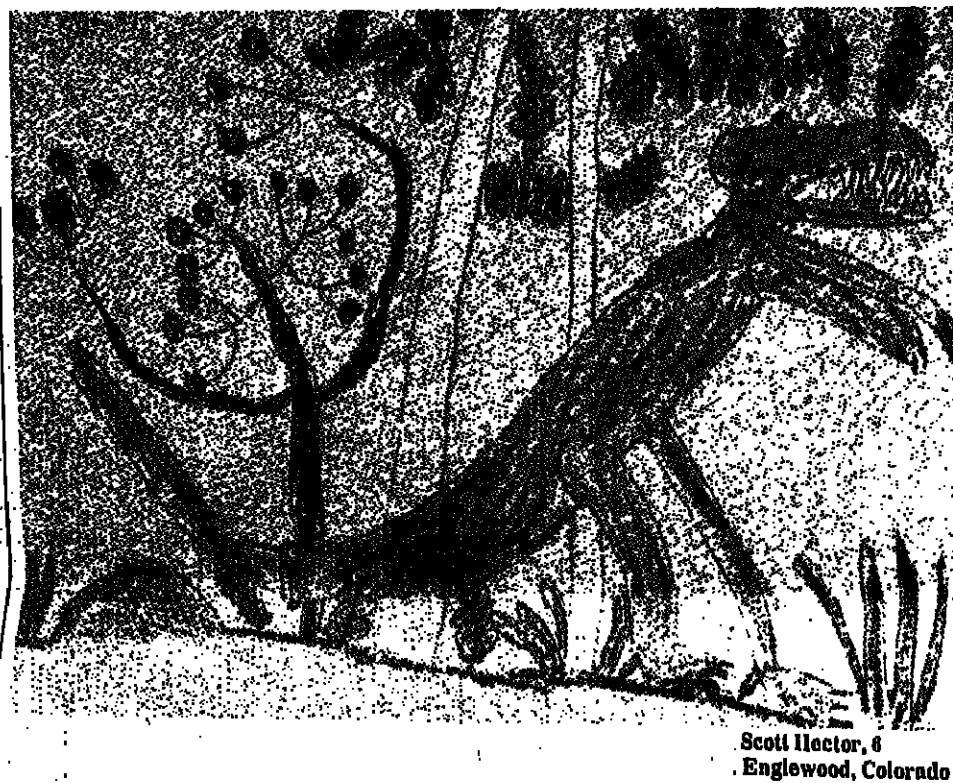
Pre-teens around the world are invited to send in their exploration on any subject they choose. Those items unused will be returned if sender provides a stamped self-addressed envelope. Send to Children's Page, Box 353, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.

Dinosaur Spikey

Dinosaur Spikey
And one Dinosaur climbed a ladder up
into
the clouds.
Now, of course, this is pretend, you know.
Now, this Dinosaur had one thorn on his
nose.
And this Dinosaur was real little

And real mean.
And his name was:
Dinosaur other-animal-eater.
Chicken eater. Thunder names us.
This Dinosaur climbed a ladder to the
sun.

Matt Swan, 4
Cliffside Park, New Jersey



Scott Hector, 6
Englewood, Colorado

How to cope when a daughter picks the 'wrong' boyfriend

By Eloise Taylor Lee

You raise a daughter pretty enough and popular enough to be homecoming queen; you give her every advantage you can afford and some you can't; you protect her as much as you can. Then, suddenly, she starts running around with the worst kid she's ever met, and she won't listen to reason. These are the troubled thoughts of a mother and father when their daughter, Elaine, a sixteen-year-old, started dating Nord.

Elaine ignored her parents' counsel and defied their wishes. Within a few months she had gained a reputation in the neighborhood as a wild child. Her parents, for failing to persuade her to drop the street-sterling sympathy, the school guidance counselor called Elaine's relationship with Nord "a phase." Threat of punishment, bribery ("We'll give you a trip to Europe if you promise not to see Nord again!"), reasoning — all failed to dissuade Elaine.

The next fall the enamored Nord dropped out of school to devote his entire attention to Elaine. But she could not feel much ardor for a dropout, and she wanted a boyfriend she could see during the day at school. She figured out for herself that Nord wasn't right for her.

Convincing him of this wasn't easy. He was very persistent, and he had lots of free time. He kept telephoning and stopping by her house.

"Please answer the telephone and door

and tell Nord I'm not home," Elaine begged her mother.

But Elaine's mother refused to do the "dirty work."

"You got yourself into this situation, and it's up to you to get out of it," she maintained.

What enabled Elaine's mother to take this strong stand, since she really didn't want Elaine to get involved again with Nord and each encounter posed the risk that he might persuade her to resume their friendship?

Elaine's parents had observed their daughter's determination when she had wanted to date Nord; they counted on her own determination to break away from Nord. From a relationship she no longer wanted. Also, they agreed that she might pick someone like Nord again if she did not learn from this experience.

For a while Nord persisted, but eventually he understood that Elaine herself, and not just her parents, rejected his overtures. He quit wasting his time on Elaine and got a new girlfriend.

After that, Elaine showed more caution and better judgment in choosing boyfriends. Now, three years later, she attends a state university away from home, and has many opportunities to utilize the lesson her parents insisted she learn.

What worked in this case might not work in another. But families can draw encouragement from this instance, in which a trying experience was turned into a valuable lesson.

Animals' names

Piggy's name is Jimmy
and fox's name is James,
and they both agreed they
had the best names.

Pussy's name is Robinson,
and donkey's name is Bruce,
and they both felt uncomfortable,
because their jumpers were too loose.
Rachel Fearey, 10
Weybridge, Surrey, England

The land behind your arm

The dark eerie silence, not a
sound in the air,
Is that someone in the corner?
That I am not aware.
Colors passing through the darkness
to the land that is not there.

It's happening too soon,
for me to feel scared,
Yet something's uncomfortable
in the air,
That's not heard.
Plunging on and on through the
darkness that has no end.
The land of darkness, when
You lift up your head,
Is at its end.

Kathryn Jane Hild,
Belfast, Northern Ireland

If I were

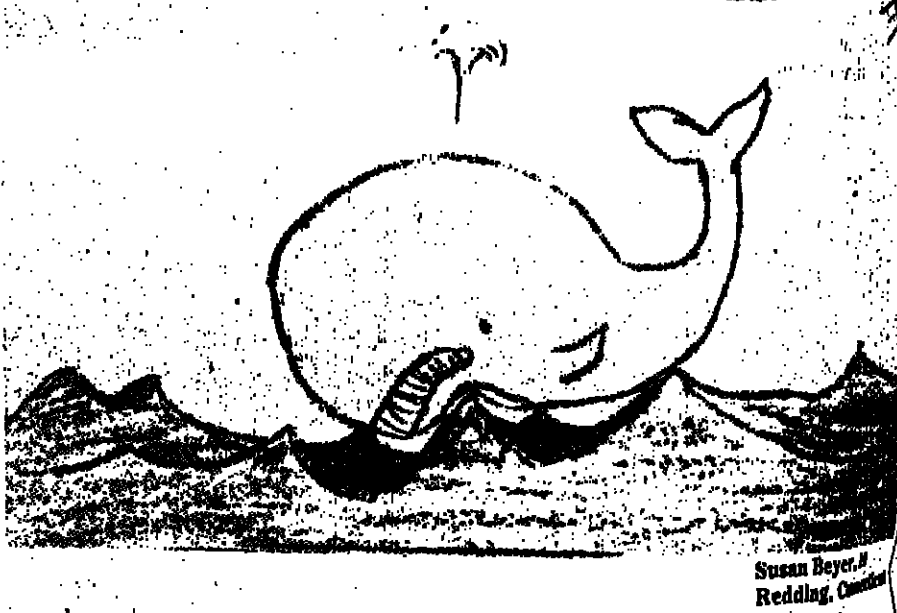
If I were a whale, I'd swim in the sea and eat fish and stick up my tail.

If I were a deer, I'd live in the woods and graze in the meadow and tramp through the woods. I'd run away from hunters and trick dogs, too.

If I were a lighthouse, I'd have a light on me. I'd light the ships' way through the night and have people living in me.

But of all the things that I could be, I think the best one is me.

Jennifer Linkins,
Craig, Utah



Susan Beyer, 11
Redding, Oregon

Can you find and circle the hidden art terms?

They read vertically, horizontally, diagonally, forwards, and occasionally, even backwards.

SHOWING KANDS LUM T N I R P
H C A I W Y T P E R S P E C T I V E P A
E M U L A B S T R A C T W E A V I N G I
G C C U P A L U D A Z A N D A S D T W T
R R O S E T I N O N K M U S E L E S A E
A A M T D O O W V A L E K E N S T R
V E P R U E S R M A Y E N E N S I L E K
I C O A T P B A K S U M M T E T G E R L
N E S T C A L A O C R A H C U I N O C F
G I L I E C R L A S R N N H B A S O O E
V P T O J S K A Y F M E T N O R Y I L I
Q R I N B D A N Y R E G R O F T L O L
N E O T U N S I N G L A N U G R T C R E
I T N A S A P G U N E F U N T O R U S R
T S T I L L L I F E T K I N G P E A S T
N A O L E Y L R U G S W A Y R B L A G
I M K D R O L O C H A R T I S T K U L Y
A N O I T H O P O R P U S C I L Y R C A
P M N O I T C U D O R P E R E N T Z A S

Abstract
Acrylics
Artists
Auction
Bronze
Canvas
Charcoal
Clay
Color
Composition
Design
Drawing
Enamel
Engraving
Etching
Forgery
Frame
Gallery
Illustration
Landscape
Masterpiece

Model
Mood
Oil
Original
Painter
Painting
Pastel
Perspective
Portrait
Proportion
Relief
Reproduction
Sculpture
Sketch
Still life
Subject
Water color
Wood

Veronica A. Ragatz. Answer: black appears among advertisements.

arts/books

Art Criticism: study of a 16th-century man

By Christopher Andreas

Nobody knows who this old man is. It is assumed that the drawing was a preparatory study for one of van Leyden's engravings, possibly of an evangelist. But this is guesswork. The prints in question anyway do not show the man from the front in this way. Since there is no known print like it, it is particularly fortunate that this drawing found its way, in 1892, into the British Museum. With other drawings by Lucas van Leyden in the same album, the British Museum at that time acquired the largest group of his existing drawings in the world. They give an insight into his art not provided by his prints.

It was his work as an engraver and designer for woodcut which gained this 16th-century Dutch artist his international reputation. Prints were the visual telegraphy of his day — a fact that it is hard to imagine in a world overfull of photography, film, and a multiplicity of other reproductive techniques. Van Leyden himself got to know the work of his great contemporaries Raphael and Durer by means of prints, after or by them. It was not until 1521 that he actually met Durer and the German master's influence on him was strengthened by contact. (Durer even drew his portrait).

The drawing has been described as "one of the earliest examples of what will later be called Dutch Realism." The nearest thing to it in the remainder of van Leyden's work is seen in his paintings of chess and card players. The inwardness of the seated figure is accentuated by the way in which the artist managed to foreshorten the old man's face and push his cap forward; the figure's actuality — more than 450 years ago — is emphasized by the very deliberate delineation, at least partly the result of Lucas's discipline with the graver.

But what makes this drawing special seems to me more than anything the strange feeling it gives of self-portraiture. Obviously it isn't a self-portrait: the artist was under 30 at the time, and his subject isn't looking at him; but to draw someone else drawing is an act of identification. Its closeness — were they both drawing on different sides of the same table? — gives an intimate sense of mirror-image.



Courtesy of the British Museum, London

"An Old Man": Black-chalk drawing by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1538)

'The Day of the Locust' on screen

By David Sterritt

The long-awaited film version of *The Day of the Locust* is a knockabout tragedy, often recalling the zany Hollywood that Nathaniel West (a movie writer himself) bitterly parodied in his novel of the same title.

Though it remains surprisingly true to the original plot, with some embellishments, its approach is wholly cinematic.

The result is a true epic, laced with filmic fireworks and grounded in an authentic (though pessimistic) artistic vision.

Nathaniel West's novel is tough, cynical, and brilliantly written. Its characters stumble through a bleak Hollywood wasteland in search of some nebulous salvation that even the movies can't offer. To pass the time they love, laugh, cry, cheat, work, and cause one another pain and humiliation.

The Schlesinger film is a sprawling, sprawling, squalling battlefield of a film. It dissects one segment of American bourgeois society — searching mostly for the nasty, the squalid, and the mean — then smears its findings across the silver screen in lush Technicolor with a big budget and a star-studded cast.

Yet, paradoxically, it never quite loses sight of some essential dignity in its sad array of antiheroes. That's why we keep on watching — fascinated, aware that we are in the presence

of some small truth — even as the story veers from skepticism to downright desolation.

These three act, interact, grow, regress, combine, and align in various ways throughout the roller-coasterish plot. Finally they are caught in the riot of human insects that gives the "Locust" tale its title. They are unhappy people. At times they seem as bizarre as the parade of grotesques who fill in the background of West's allegorical canvases. But during the movie's central scenes they come convincingly, even appealingly, to life.

It is flawed by its own unrelieved bleakness — West's rocky prose served as a hard cushion between us and the story's sharp corners, a cushion that the movie fails to provide. And an uncomfortable edge of hysteria creeps in during the least inhibited sequences, as though the director simply didn't know when to quit during his headlong plunge along West's dimly lighted road (the same flaw marred Schlesinger's "Midnight Cowboy"). Yet "The Day of the Locust" succeeds on its own terms, as a heartbroken parable relentlessly told.

"The Day of the Locust" thus emerges as Nathaniel West's movie — an ironic twist, considering West's sardonic view of films and filming. It's not a pretty motion picture, but it is a strong and shaking experience.

Kenneth Clark's self-portrait

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By Robert Nye

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spirited description of what he calls the godless, disgraceful, overfed social order of Edwardian England. It goes on to describe how he emerged from this, eager to develop his aesthetic faculties, able to support those faculties with scholarship and experience, until at the age of thirty Kenneth Clark was appointed director of the National Gallery in London.

You can read this book for its many entertaining character-studies of those Lord Clark has known well — Maurice Bowra, Bernard Berenson, Logan Pearsall Smith, and other members of the art world. Or you can read it for its delicious anecdotes. I think part of the reason for his immense success is the fact that there is a certain gap between the sobriety of these roles and attainments and the radiant and unquenchable enthusiasm of his natural character. He is a born talker. This book talks about life and art with a casual wit that only serves to barb its wisdom. It is an immediately likable portrait of a man who says that he was "saved from the poison of success in the world" by one thing — "an unabated and insatiable joy in the contemplation of works of art."

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.

children

Footprints of young explorers

Pre-teens around the world are invited to send in their exploration on any subject they choose. Those items unused will be returned if sender provides a stamped self-addressed envelope. Send to Children's Page, Box 353, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.

Dinosaur Spikey

Dinosaur Spikey
And one Dinosaur climbed a ladder up
into
the clouds.

Now, of course, this is pretend, you know.
Now, this Dinosaur had one thorn on his
nose.

And this Dinosaur was real little

And real mean.

And his name was:

Dinosaur other-animal-eater.

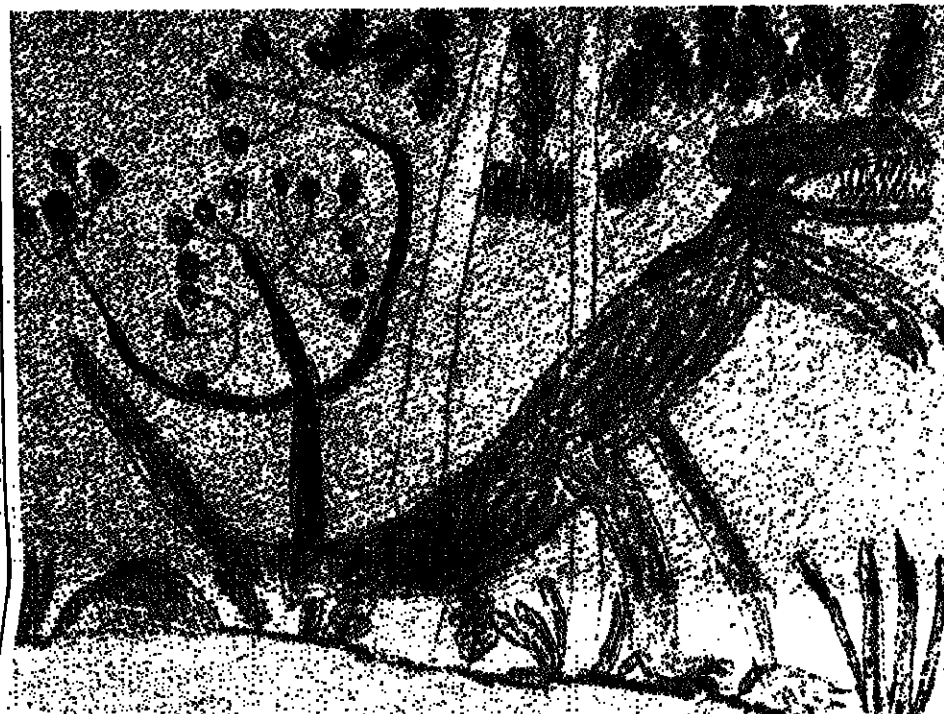
Chicken eater. Thunder names us.

This Dinosaur climbed a ladder to the

sun.

Matt Swan, 4

Cliffside Park, New Jersey



Scott Hector, 8
Englewood, Colorado

How to cope when a daughter picks the 'wrong' boyfriend

By Elaine Taylor Lee

You raise a daughter pretty enough and popular enough to be homecoming queen; you give her every advantage you can afford and, some you can't; you protect her as much as you can. Then suddenly, she starts running around with the worst kid she's ever met, and she won't listen to reason. These are the troubled thoughts of a mother and father when their daughter, Elaine, a sixteen-year-old, started dating Nord.

Elaine ignored her parents' counsel and defied their wishes. Within a few months she had gained a reputation in the school as a "bad girl." Her parents, who were not at all "bad," were not at all "bad," and she was not at all "bad." She was just Elaine, a sixteen-year-old, who had picked the "wrong" boyfriend.

The next fall, the reamoured Nord dropped out of school to devote his entire attention to Elaine. But she could not feel much ardor for a dropout, and she wanted a boyfriend she could see during the day at school. She figured out for herself that Nord wasn't right for her.

Convincing him of this wasn't easy. He was very persistent, and he had lots of free time. He kept telephoning and stopping by her house.

"Please answer the telephone and door

and tell Nord I'm not home," Elaine begged her mother.

But Elaine's mother refused to do the "dirty work."

"You got yourself into this situation, and it's up to you to get out of it," she maintained.

What enabled Elaine's mother to take this strong stand, since she really didn't want Elaine to get involved again with Nord and each encounter posed the risk that he might persuade her to resume their friendship?

Elaine's parents had observed their daughter's determination when she had wanted to date Nord; they counted on her own determination to break away from a relationship she no longer wanted. Also, they agreed that she might pick someone like Nord again if she did not learn from this experience.

For a while Nord persisted, but eventually he understood that Elaine herself, and not just her parents, rejected his overtures. He quit wasting his time on Elaine and got a new girl friend.

After that, Elaine showed more caution and better judgment in choosing boyfriends. Now, three years later, she attends a state university away from home and has many opportunities to utilize the lesson her parents insisted she learn.

What worked in this case might not work in another. But families can draw encouragement from this instance, in which a trying experience was turned into a valuable lesson.

Animals' names

Piggy's name is Jimmy
and fox's name is James,
and they both agreed they
had the best names.

Pussy's name is Robinson,
and donkey's name is Bruce,
and they both felt uncomfortable,
because their jumpers were too loose.

Rachel Fearey, 10
Weybridge, Surrey, England

The land behind your arm

The dark eerie silence, not a
sound in the air,
Is that someone in the corner?
That I am not aware.
Colors passing through the darkness
to the land that is not there.

It's happening too soon,
for me to feel scared,
Yet something's uncomfortable
in the air,
that's not heard.
Plunging on and on through the
darkness that has no end.
The land of darkness, when
You lift up your head,
Is at its end.

Kathryn Jane Ridd
Belfast, Northern Ireland

If I were

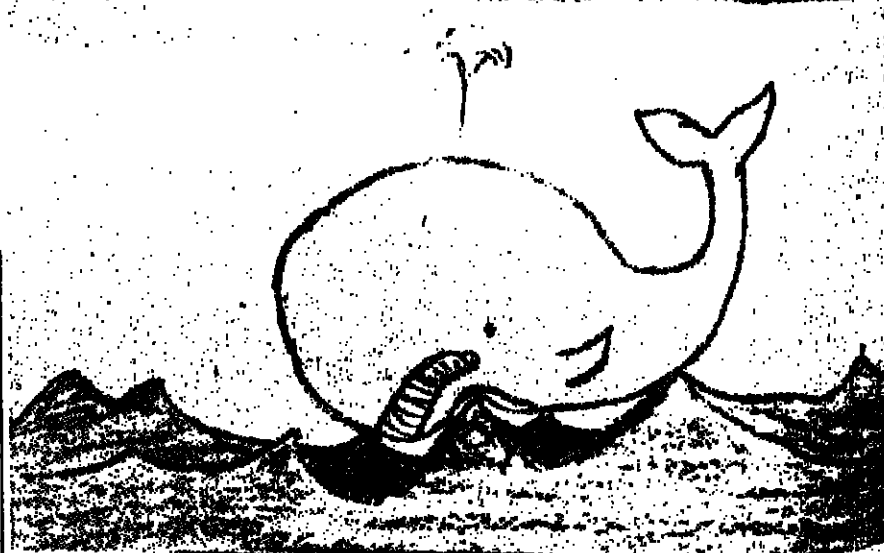
If I were a whale, I'd swim in the sea and eat fish and stick up my tail.

If I were a deer, I'd live in the woods and graze in the meadow and tramp through the woods. I'd run away from hunters and trick dogs, too.

If I were a lighthouse, I'd have a light on me. I'd light the ships' way through night and have people living in me.

But of all the things that I could be, I think the best one is me.

Jennifer Lukin
Craig, Alaska



Susan Boyer, 11
Redding, Connecticut

Can you find and circle the hidden art terms?

They read vertically, horizontally, diagonally, forwards, and occasionally, even backwards.

SHOWING KANDBLUMTNI R P
HCAI WYTPERSPECTIVEPA
EMULABSTRACTWEAVINGI
G G C U F A L U D A Z A N D A S D T W T
R O S E T I N O N K M U S E L E S A E
A A M T D O O W A L E K E N S T T R
V E P R U E S R M A Y E N E N S I L E K
I C O A T P B A K S U M M T E T G E R L
N E S T C A L A O C R A H C U I N N C F
G I I E C R L A S R N N H B A S O O E
V P T O J S K A Y F M E T N O R Y I L I
G R I N B D A N Y R E G R O F T L O L
N E O T U N S I N G L A N U G R T C R E
I T N A S A P G U N E F U N T O R U S R
T S T I L L I F E T K I N G P E A S T
N A Q L E Y L R U G S W A Y R E L L A G
I M K D R O L O C H A R T I S T K U L Y
A N O I T R P O R P U B C I L Y R C A
P M N O I T C U D O R P E R N T Z A S

Veronica A. Regan

Abstract
Acrylics
Artist
Auction
Bronze
Canvases
Charcoal
Clay
Color
Composition
Design
Drawing
Enamel
Engraving
Etching
Forgery
Frame
Gallery
Illustration
Landscape
Masterpiece
Model
Mood
Oil
Original
Painting
Pencil
Perspective
Print
Proportion
Relief
Reproduction
Sculpture
Sketch
Still life
Subject
Water color
Wood

arts/books

Art Criticism: study of a 16th-century man

By Christopher Andreas

Nobody knows who this old man is. It is assumed that the drawing was a preparatory study for one of van Leyden's engravings, possibly of an evangelist. But this is guesswork. The prints in question anyway do not show the man from the front in this way. Since there is no known print like it, it is particularly fortunate that this drawing found its way, in 1892, into the British Museum. With other drawings by Lucas van Leyden in the same album, the British Museum at that time acquired the largest group of his existing drawings in the world. They give an insight into his art not provided by his prints.

It was his work as an engraver and designer for woodcut which gained this 16th-century Dutch artist his international reputation. Prints were the visual telegraphy of his day — a fact that it is hard to imagine in a world overfull of photography, film, and a multiplicity of other reproductive techniques. Van Leyden himself got to know the work of his great contemporaries Raphael and Durer by means of prints, after or by them. It was not until 1521 that he actually met Durer and the German master's influence on him was strengthened by contact. (Durer even drew his portrait).

The drawing has been described as "one of the earliest examples of what will later be called Dutch Realism." The nearest thing to it in the remainder of van Leyden's work is seen in his paintings of chess and card players. The inwardness of the seated figure is accentuated by the way in which the artist managed to foreshorten the old man's face and push his cap forward; the figure's actuality — more than 450 years ago — is emphasized by the very deliberate delineation, at least partly the result of Lucas's discipline with the graver.

But what makes this drawing special seems to me more than anything the strange feeling it gives of self-portraiture. Obviously it isn't a self-portrait: the artist was under 30 at the time, and his subject isn't looking at him; but to draw someone else drawing is an act of identification. Its closeness — were they both drawing on different sides of the same table? — gives an intimate sense of mirror-image.



"An Old Man": Black chalk drawing by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533)

'The Day of the Locust' on screen

By David Sterritt

The long-awaited film version of *The Day of the Locust* is a knockout tragic farce, often recalling the zany Hollywood that Nathaniel West (a movie writer himself) bitterly parodied in his novel of the same title.

Though it remains surprisingly true to the original plot, with some embellishments, its approach is wholly cinematic.

The result is a true epic, laced with filmic fireworks and grounded in an authentic (though pessimistic) artistic vision. Nathaniel West's novel is tough, cynical, and brilliantly written. Its characters stumble through a bleak Hollywood wasteland in search of some nebulous salvation that even the movies can't offer. To pass the time they love, laugh, cry, cheat, work, and cause one another pain and humiliation.

The Schlesinger film is a sprawling, sprawling, squalling battlefield of a film. It dissects one segment of American bourgeois society — searching mostly for the nasty, the squalid, and the mean — then smears its findings across the silver screen in luscious Technicolor with a big budget and a star-studded cast.

Yet, paradoxically, it never quite loses sight of some essential dignity in its sad array of antiheroes. That's why we keep on watching — fascinated, aware that we are in the presence

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Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.

home

Watering your garden:
be sure the soil is soaked

By Peter Tonge
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

My wife isn't the envying type. But if she coveted anything in the world it was the cucumbers a friend of mine, Emil Dahlquist, had growing in his garden last year.

Emil's main interests lie elsewhere, but he does have time for a small garden. The cukes it contained were the best I had seen in a long time.

He grew them on soil ridges that looked like mounded potato rows. But the secret of his success lay in the number of empty cans he had buried part way in the soil every 12 inches or so. These made it possible to water his water-loving cucumbers properly.

Indeed, the most important nutrient required for plant growth is water. All the nutrients absorbed by the roots of a plant must first be dissolved by water and then transported by water through the plant itself. Plants also maintain proper temperature by transpiring through the leaves. In other words plants, like people, perspire, and to do so they need water.

One final fact to underscore this importance: Between 80 and 95 percent of an actively growing plant is water. A cabbage, for instance, is 93 percent water.

The most common mistake people make when it comes to watering is to assume that because the surface of the soil is wet, the rest of it is, too. That is frequently not so.

An acquaintance of mine who got indifferent results from his garden last year insisted he thoroughly watered his garden. Yet whenever I saw it, it was crying out with thirst. In fact, his garden had been watered often but never well.

There is a simple check to test if the soil is adequately wet: After watering, scrape away the top one inch of soil. If it is still damp at that depth, fine. If not, water again.

All too frequently water drains away from a plant before it can be soaked up by the soil. To avoid this, make saucer-like depressions around your larger plants, such as tomatoes, so that the water will gather there and then soak deep into the soil. Or you might try the Dahlquist method, which worked so wonderfully for his cucumbers.

Take some empty cans (2 pound cans are a good size) and cut out the bottom as well as the top (or else punch holes in the bottom) and sink these one-third of the way into the soil. Whenever you water, fill these cans. The water, which now cannot flow away from the plants over the surface of the soil, is forced straight down where it is needed. Mr. Dahlquist also added compost to the bottom of the cans so that every time he watered he was, in fact, feeding the cucumbers.

Use a mulch, too. It cuts down on evaporation and keeps weeds out of the garden as an added bonus.

So much for getting an adequate supply of water to your plants. Can you give them too much water? Yes—if you have a heavy clay soil in your garden.

Roots need air as well as water, and overwet soils block out the supply of air. The solution lies in incorporating lots of organic matter to make the soil porous. It might help to raise the beds on clay soils so that heavy rains can drain away from the plants more readily.

Clay soils retain moisture better than light soils during dry spells. Remember, though, once dry, clay requires a lot more water to become adequately moist again.

Missing: the chic Frenchwoman

By Phyllis Feldkamp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

A slowing economy has sent the miraculously dressed, meticulously groomed Frenchwoman underground. You rarely see the "femme du monde" who would do credit to Dior sauntering along the rue du faubourg

Fashion
Saint Honore looking as if she'd spent half the morning at the hairdresser's and the other half choosing her shoes. Today there is more "l'aisez-faire" than "noblesse oblige" in French dressing.

What you do see are T-shirts with printed cotton skirts or pinettes, sandals with high stacked-leather or wedge heels, and inexpensive straw totes, which in days gone by would have been considered suitable for marketing or possibly a picnic in the country.

Paris newspapers devote much more space on their women's pages to the progress of the

"Mouvement de la Liberation de la Femme" than was the case when I was last here a year ago. Consumer-oriented stories appear with more frequency, and shopping tips are inclined to be money-saving rather than money-spending types. The good buy for a few francs is featured. For example—in Le Figaro—how you can find at the Prisunic (a low-price chain store) a creditable copy of the leather-trimmed Gucci belt (called "le status sac.")

The other cheap knock-off that has caught the fancy of Parisiennes and is available for the equivalent of \$3.50 in the shops is a rayon version of the Missoni silk jersey muffler. It is worn, in the approved Missoni manner, wound once around the neck and looped over low in front.

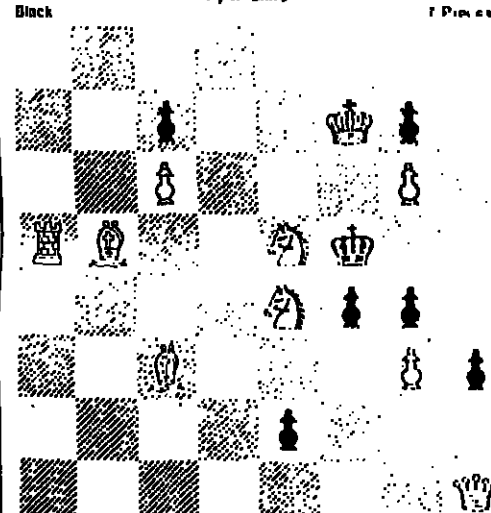
"Bluejinz," as the French call denim jeans, are as uniform in Paris as in any American high school. An impossibly tight model is the latest cut. A big smock cinched with a cummerbund is the usual top. "Fadouts" are thought by the French to have had it and the array of jeans in Left-bank boutiques are all deep indigo.

chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier

Problem No. 6713

By D. Shiro



White to play and mate in two.
(First prize, British Chess Magazine, Two-movers, 1974.)

Problem No. 6714

By D. I. Brown



White to play and mate in two.
(Second prize, British Chess Magazine, Two-movers, 1974.)

Solutions to Problems

No. 6711 Kt-B6

No. 6712. 1 R4-K3 threatens 2 Kt-K3ch, Kt-K1. 3 P-Kt mate.
11... R-R7: 2 QxRch
11... Q-R5, 2 P-K4ch

End-Game No. 2210. After 1... R-R8ch: 2 KxR, PxP, White escapes with 3 R-KB5, KxR, 4 P-K4ch, KxP; 5 K-Kt2, with a winning advantage.

Cleveland International

The winner of the Cleveland Plain Dealer International tournament, which concluded May 22, was grandmaster Isvan Cosin, Hungarian grandmaster. Second was Yugoslav grandmaster Predrag Ostojic, with Philippine grandmaster Eugenio Torre in close third.

The top U.S. players were Andrew Soltis and Edmar Mednis, who were tied for fourth, fifth, and sixth with Florin Gheorghiu, Rumanian. This event was jointly sponsored by the U.S. Chess Federation, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and the Cleveland Chess Association.

The score of Cosin's win from Mednis comes courtesy of the U.S. Chess Federation.

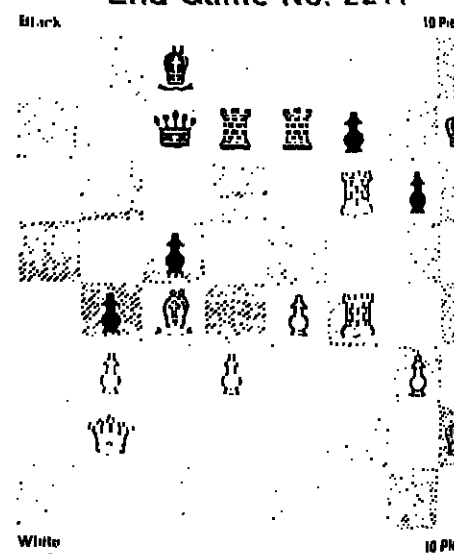
Sicilian Defense

1 P-K4 P-QB4 18 Q-O QxP
2 Kt-KB3 P-Q3 20 Q-R7 P-QB3
3 B-K5ch Kt-Q2 21 R-Q4 R-K4
4 P-Q4 Kt-B3 22 R7-Q4 K-B2
5 QxP P-K4 23 R-Q8 H-K2
6 Q-Q3 P-KR3 24 R-K3 Q-K4
7 Kt-Q2 B-K2 25 Kt-Q2 P-B4
8 Kt-Q2 O-O 26 Q-B4 Kt-B3
9 Kt-B4 Bx8 27 P-KK3 P-B5
10 BxK1 Q-B2 28 Kt-K12 R-QB4
11 Kt-B5 (a) BxK1 30 Q-K3 P-B6
12 Kt-B5 P-K5 31 Kt-K3 R-QK4
13 PxB KR-K 32 Q-B4 R-QB4
14 Q-K2 QR-B 33 Q-K3 Q-R4
15 B-Q2 B-B4 34 R7-Q4 Q-R6
16 P-QR3 Q-K4 35 R7-Q2 R-KR4
17 B-K3 QxK4 36 R7-Q2 R-KR4
18 BxB RxB
(a) Soon White wins the QP, but the KBP remains weak, and Black is able to work out a strong K-side attack.

Keres' First at Vancouver

The late Estonian grandmaster, Paul Keres, easily justified his high rating by winning

End-Game No. 2211



White to play and win.
(Golden-Light European team championship, Kopenhagen, 1970.)

Petrol Defense

1 P-K4 P-K4 14 KR-Q Kt-K1
2 Kt-KB3 Kt-B3 15 BxK1 QxB
3 P-Q3 Kt-B3 16 BxP P-KK3
4 Q-K1 Q2 B-B4 17 Kt-B5 Q-B4
5 P-B3 P-B4 18 B-K7 Q-K3
6 B-K2 P-P 19 B-Q5 Q-K3
7 P-P P-QR4 20 B-Q4 P-K1
8 Q-O O-O 21 Q-O2 Kt-B2
9 Q-B2 R-K 22 R-B3 Kt-B2
10 Kt-B4 Q-K2 23 R-B3 Q-K15
11 B-K5 Q-B 24 Kt-R4 Resigns
12 Kt-K3 B-K2 25 R-P Resigns
13 B-K5 B-Q2

Tubby

By Guiney Le Pelley



people

Frank Church: benign scourge of the CIA

By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
There were nine or 10 farmers gathered in a hot room in Shoshone County, Idaho, back in the summer of '68, listening to a young Democratic lawyer who was running like a deer for the United States Senate.

The lawyer, Frank Church, was talking and swigging great gulps of water as he unrolled a long campaign speech designed for a major rally. Finally one great big farmer at the back of the room said, "Young man, I want to tell you something. I'm gonna vote for you, but you're the only windmill I ever saw that ran entirely on water."

After the meeting someone asked Frank Church why he had given a whole speech to just a handful of people — "Why unload the whole bale of hay, Frank?" His answer: "Because I'm out to make converts — If I tell it to 10, they'll tell it to 10 more."

Profile

That attitude, which at 32 made him one of the youngest men ever to win a Senate seat, may be an asset again during another important summer in Frank Church's life.

This is the summer when 10 million people may tell it to another 10 million as Sen. Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, chairs televised hearings on the domestic role of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Chairmen of controversial TV hearings have a way of becoming famous, as Senators Estes Kefauver and Sam J. Ervin Jr. proved, so before the next election Frank Church's name may be as familiar as John Wayne's.

But Senator Church is not now a candidate for the presidency, although his long-time campaign manager Carl Burke admits "he was prepared to put his foot in the water last January [when he was asked to chair the intelligence committee] and then pulled out because he knew that maintaining a political posture when running a serious type of investigation would be a disaster."

Restoring confidence

When he is asked what the U.S. most needs in a president and whether he would be willing to give it, he answers:

"I think the country [he sighs] needs to have its confidence restored in political leadership. Any man that can do this, whoever he may be, that man we need for president."

Is he ruling himself out? "No, I'm not ruling one way or another. That's the bedrock requirement in the aftermath of Watergate and a whole decade of disillusionment."

Although he's not in the running now, the liberal weekly, "The Village Voice," profiled him as "the hottest liberal dark horse." He pushes the levers of power in several important Senate committees, appears almost nightly on camera to answer questions about CIA assassination charges or hearings on the scandals of multinational corporations.

Senator Church looks different off camera. On camera, answering volatile questions, he is formal, guarded, his eyes hooded, almost scholarly, with a certain heaviness of



Senator Church: probing, delving

manner and appearance which are deceptive. In person he is trim, ebullient, tall (six feet) with a tan face that grins easily, brown eyes, Indian black hair with some features of gray in it, and a warmth that the camera somehow doesn't catch.

The one constant, off camera or on, is the voice, a soft baritone that falls in measured cadences like lines from Tennyson, with no slang.

He says: "My father had a lively interest in politics. He was an adamant Republican and his hatred of [Franklin] Roosevelt was something to behold. . . . He liked to argue politics and it fell to me when no one else was available, as the youngest son, to take the other side of the argument."

"In the process I had to read up on Roosevelt, and I used to go to the library and try to understand what the New Deal was all about." In the process, he converted himself and gives his Republican father the credit for his becoming a Democrat.

We are sitting in Frank Church's Capitol office, a long

room decked with senatorial brown leather furniture and an oil portrait of one of his heroes, the legendary orator Sen. William Borah, "The Lion of Idaho." The office is hidden away at one end of a maze of marble corridors, and one of the precautions he takes as chairman of the intelligence committee is to have it swept regularly for "bugs."

Partisan split avoided

There has been some public criticism that the committee is split but he denies it: "We have managed to avoid a partisan split and all of the decisions that have been reached so far have been unanimous. I think his is a remarkable feat . . . given the broad spectrum of philosophical differences represented in the membership, from Gary Hart to Barry Goldwater."

Sen. Howard H. Baker (R) of Tennessee, a member of the intelligence committee says, "I like Frank. He's honest and decent and doing a good job, but I suspect he has a strong partisan loyalty. Some unpleasant things took place during Democratic administrations, and I'm sure he's still trying to reconcile that. But I overcame that [on the Senate Watergate committee] and I'm sure he will too."

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D) of Montana says, "I've watched him for many years here and I've been tremendously impressed. He always was a comer. . . . He's careful, conscientious, concise, and does his homework thoroughly."

Senator Church, after 15 years on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is also third in line for the chairmanship, with only elder statesman Mansfield before him.

Wife 'teethed' on politics

Frank Church met his future wife in high school in Boise; she was Bethine Clark, daughter of Democratic Idaho Gov. Chase Clark, a woman who was teethed on politics as well as personal life. But he overrode her opposition to his early (1965) stand against the Vietnam war. He was one of the first to speak out, before it was politically chic, and was also co-author of the Cooper-Church amendment which put an end to the war in Cambodia by cutting off funds.

Mrs. Church describes their marriage: "He really likes home. He families," she says, using it as a verb.

The Churches have two sons, Forrest, a graduate student at Harvard Divinity School, and Chase, just graduated from Wall Whitman High School in Maryland. One of their favorite family spots is a Civil War cabin in the Pennsylvania woods where there's a fishing stream with what the Senator calls "some very elusive brown trout in it."

He is also an unaccomplished pianist, who played "The March of the Mickey Mouse" at a recent fund-raiser. Those who know him say he's a sentimentalist, too, a Churchill fan, and a man who comes to dinner but never finishes it because he loves to talk too much. He gave a still-remembered keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention in 1980; much earlier his golden throat won him a \$4,000 American Legion oratory award in high school. And that sound you may hear off in the wings is Frank Church clearing his throat for a TV summer.

Celebrated historian lectures cruise passengers

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Aboard the Santa Mercedes off the coast of Brazil
Samuel Eliot Morison may have put down his historian's pen as he claims in his conclusion to his masterly two-part work, "The European Discovery of America." But the same sparkle and pungency which characterized his long career as a Harvard scholar are still very much in evidence.

And so is his determined adherence to the rules of historical evidence.

He displayed all these traits on a recent sea voyage this spring around South America and through the Straits of Magellan — a voyage that was, in a way, something of a nostalgic pilgrimage for the Pulitzer Prize winner.

Admiral Morison had made the same trip several years ago as part of the research for his "The European Discovery of America." That trip, following Magellan's route, was the last of many he had taken with his late wife.

This time, in the company of daughter Wendy, he was making the journey not to do historical research, but to lecture on the

discovery of the New World to cruise passengers aboard the SS Santa Mercedes.

A far cry from lecturing to Harvard undergraduates! But the same hours of careful research for each 30-minute talk were very much in evidence. "I'm accustomed to preparing my lectures," he explained.

His talks were peppered with anecdotes drawn from a lifetime of study. And no wonder! Admiral Morison's life has been wrapped up with the sea. He comes by it naturally: His forebears were part of the New England seafaring tradition, and many of his books reflect this fascination.

He himself became an admiral in World War II, and about that time he accepted the task of writing the naval history of the war. Much of the 15-volume "History of U.S. Naval Operations in World War II" came from his own on-the-scene observations.

It is this penchant for reliving the experiences of the doughty seamen about whom he writes — Columbus, Drake, Magellan, or more modern heroes — that so distinguishes Admiral Morison from most other historians. "You see what the early navigators saw when you follow their routes?" he explained one

evening. "I got my technique from Parkman (a 19th-century historian); a man of the plains and forests, he went into the wilderness and saw it as the early explorers did. I have used the same technique for the sea voyages to the Americas."

It is an approach that has served Admiral Morison well. From his early studies of Columbus to his biographies of John Paul Jones and Commodore Matthew C. Perry and on to the "European Discovery of America," he has retraced his principal characters in their voyages and their lives as few other historians have done with their subjects.

This refracting is at its ultimate in the two-volume history of discovery. The first book covers the northern voyages from 800 to 1800 A.D. of the Norsemen, John Cabot, Jacques Cartier, and a score of others. The second focuses on the years 1492 to 1616 and Columbus, Vesputci, Magellan, Drake, and Sebastian Cabot.

It is Columbus who obviously fascinates Admiral Morison most. He tells the tale of New World discoveries of Columbus with ever-increasing gusto, and there is no doubt he has little sympathy for the modern-day

debunkers of Columbus who would call him merely a Johnny-come-lately.

Admiral Morison talked candidly about the various theories that the Vikings, the English, the Phoenicians, and others got to the New World first. "This is a debunking age," he commented. "That's why all these theories keep coming up."

For Admiral Morison, none of these theories is based on identifiable facts. As far as the Phoenicians getting to Brazil, as advanced by various United States and European historians, he said flatly, "There is absolutely no evidence," adding that he doubted the Phoenician ships could have made it to America.

Rather than wasting their time with such theories, he counseled, historians would be better advised to base themselves on the facts and then write a good tale. "History is essentially the story of human life on the planet," he said. "You've got to make it flow."

Those are simple words, but coming from a man whose 65-year career of writing history has produced 48 books, two Pulitzer Prizes, and countless other awards, they sum up a philosophy that has made Samuel Eliot Morison the patriarch of United States historians. "I write history as a story," he added simply. "That is what history is, essentially."

MONITOR
RECIPETry banana bread
from California

Sherry Carey, La Jolla, California, sends a recipe for banana-molasses bread, which you may like to try.

Banana Bread

3 ripe bananas
1 egg, unbeaten
1/2 cup sugar
2 tablespoons light molasses (treacle)
2 tablespoons melted cooking fat

2 cups sifted flour
1 teaspoon each baking powder and soda
1/2 teaspoon salt
1 cup chopped walnuts

Mash bananas until no lumps remain. Add egg and mix well. Beat in sugar, molasses, and shortening. Sift together the flour, baking powder, soda, and salt. Add to first mixture. Stir in walnuts. Bake in greased 8-by-8-by-2-inch loaf pan at 325 degrees F. for about one hour.

French/German

Duo de superpuissance

par Joseph C. Harsch

C'est exprimer une banalité que de dire que les Américains et d'autres Occidentaux ne partagent pas le même avis sur la « détente ». Nous en connaissons tous les indices. Partout on a tendance à croire que c'est une bonne chose que les communistes soviétiques et les astronautes américains se soient rejoints dans l'espace. Mais les mêmes personnes qui approuvent cet exemple de la détente déplorent d'ordinaire de nombreux traits de la société soviétique et le style de vie des Soviétiques.

Ce conflit est troublant et affligeant. Les gens vivant dans des sociétés libres ou relativement libres devraient-ils fraterniser dans certains domaines avec les Soviétiques tout en déplorant leur comportement de si nombreuses façons? Ou devraient-ils les boycotter, les isoler et les frapper d'ostracisme comme une manière d'exprimer leur désapprobation et dans l'espoir (peu importe à quel point utopique) que cela pourrait amener le léopard soviétique à changer de peau.

J'aimerais soumettre les réflexions suivantes à ceux que ce conflit trouble. Les États-Unis et l'Union soviétique sont uniques dans le monde, aujourd'hui. Elles constituent des superpuissances. Il n'y a aucune autre superpuissance bien que la Chine et une éventuelle Europe occidentale unie puissent devenir un jour des superpuissances.

Cet état de choses n'est pas inhabituel, bien que pas sans précédent. Rome et Carthage étaient autrefois des superpuissances dans une Europe par ailleurs impuissante. Dans la plus grande partie de l'histoire, la puissance a été aux mains de plusieurs plutôt que de deux grands. Lorsqu'elle est double (à deux uniquement), l'un détruit l'autre comme Rome détruisit Carthage ou ils apprendront à coexister dans un esprit de rivalité comme (plus tard dans l'histoire ancienne) Rome coexista avec la Parthie.

Les deux superpuissances actuelles ont été tentées de se détruire mutuellement. Des gens tant à Washington qu'à Moscou ont envisagé l'idée de frapper l'autre dans une action nucléaire « préventive ». La « victoire totale » a ses partisans aujourd'hui dans les deux capitales. Mais selon l'opinion autorisée exprimée dans les deux capitales, on est arrivé à la conclusion que le prix (perte de la moitié au moins de la population et de la plus grande partie de la structure industrielle) en était trop élevé.

C'est ainsi qu'ils en sont venus à avoir un intérêt réciproque à la survie

sans guerre nucléaire. Cela leur procure un intérêt mutuel secondaire. Ni à l'un ni à l'autre ne plaît l'idée de chantage par le moyen d'armes nucléaires de la part d'un petit pays. C'est la raison pour laquelle ils ont joint leurs efforts pour maintenir aussi petit que possible le « club » nucléaire.

À cet égard ils ne diffèrent pas des deux plus grands fabricants d'automobiles américains — Ford et General Motors. Ils sont rivaux. Chacun voudrait avoir l'autre s'il le pouvait. Ils se concurrencent à la limite de la tolérance légale en recherchant des marchés et en essayant de se surpasser par de nouveaux modèles. Mais ils ont également des intérêts communs. Ils s'unissent pour soutenir à Washington une politique ou une législation qui stimule les ventes de voitures. Ils se mettent ensemble pour résister à quoi que ce soit qui puisse freiner les ventes tel que des mesures contre la pollution. Ils coopèrent.

Il y a lieu de noter également que sur le plan humain les riches et les puissants ont tendance à s'associer avec leurs semblables. Les riches propriétaires de yacht se retrouvent à Palm Beach, Newport ou à Monte Carlo. Dans le même ordre d'idée, les têtes des superpuissances se trouvent avoir un charme réciproque. Le président Ford, comme ses prédécesseurs, supporte des petits princes ou premiers ministres lorsqu'il se doit, mais il consacrerait un temps illimité à Leonid Brejnev ou à Mao Tse-Toung. Ceux qui se ressemblent ont tendance à s'assembler. Les superpuissances — peu importe à quel point leurs conflits sont grands ou leurs désaccords du point de vue idéologique sont profonds — ont d'importantes affaires à traiter ensemble, et se plaisent à le faire. C'est difficile pour ceux qui disposent d'une grande puissance d'éviter de montrer du dédain à ceux qui ont peu de pouvoir.

L'Union soviétique exerce une tyrannie. Elle tyrannise tous ses citoyens. Elle tyrannise les minorités ethniques russes. Elle a étouffé la liberté des Lettons, des Estoniens, des Lithuaniens, des Ouzbeks et des Kirghizes, des Tatars de Crimée et des Ukrainiens. Tous voudraient être libérés de Moscou et de leurs suzerains russes s'ils le pouvaient.

Les Américains n'aiment pas la tyrannie, mais les États-Unis en tant que superpuissance ont des affaires à traiter avec la seule autre superpuissance du monde. C'est une contradiction. C'est aussi humain — et probablement nécessaire.

Duett der Supermächte

Von Joseph C. Harsch

Man sagt damit nichts Neues, wenn man feststellt, daß die Amerikaner und ihre westlichen Verbündeten bezüglich der Entspannungspolitik geteilter Meinung seien. Wir alle kennen die Symptome. Überall hat man es überwiegend begrüßt, daß die amerikanischen Astronauten und sowjetischen Kosmonauten im Weltraum zusammengearbeitet haben. Aber die gleichen Leute, die dieses Beispiel für die Entspannung gutheissen, mißbilligen gewöhnlich viele Grundzüge des sowjetischen Gesellschaftssystems und des sowjetischen Lebensstils.

Dieser Widerspruch ist verwirrend und bedrückend zugleich. Sollten Menschen, die in einer freien oder verhältnismäßig freien Gesellschaft leben, auf einigen Gebieten freundschaftliche Beziehungen zur Sowjetunion pflegen, während sie deren Verhalten in vielerlei Hinsicht mißbilligen? Oder sollten sie ihr Mißfallen durch Boykott, Isolierung und Achtung zum Ausdruck bringen, in der Hoffnung (wie unrealistisch es auch sein mag), dadurch eine tiefgreifende Änderung herbeizuführen?

Für diejenigen, die dieser Widerspruch beunruhigt, möchte ich folgendes darlegen.

Die Vereinigten Staaten und die Sowjetunion stehen heute in der Welt einzig da. Sie sind Supermächte. Es gibt keine dritte Supermacht, wenn auch China und ein möglicherweise vereinigtes Westeuropa eines Tages zu Supermächten werden könnten.

Dieser Zustand ist zwar ungewöhnlich, aber nicht ohne Beispiel in der Geschichte. Rom und Karthago waren einst Supermächte in einer ansonsten machtlosen eurasischen Welt. Meist teilten sich mehr als nur zwei Länder in die Macht. Sind es nur zwei, so wird eins das andere zerstören, so wie Rom Karthago zerstörte, oder sie lernen nebeneinander zu existieren, so wie zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt in der Geschichte Rom und Parthien nebeneinander bestanden.

Die beiden Supermächte unserer Zeit waren der Versuchung ausgesetzt, sich gegenseitig zu vernichten. Sowohl in Washington als auch in Moskau hat man den Gedanken eines nuklearen Präventivschlages gegen den anderen erwogen. Sieg auf der ganzen Linie — in beiden Hauptstädten gibt es Personen, die so etwas im Auge haben. Aber eine verantwortungsbewusste Einschätzung der Lage hat auf beiden Seiten zu dem Schluß geführt, daß der Preis dafür (Verlust wenigstens der Hälfte aller Einwohner und fast der gesamten Industrieanlagen) zu hoch ist.

So haben sie ein gemeinsames Inter-

esse daran entwickelt, ohne Atomkrieg zu überleben. Daraus erwächst ein zweites gemeinsames Interesse. Keine der beiden Großmächte möchte mit Hilfe von Nuklearwaffen von einem kleinen Land erpreßt werden. Daher versuchen sie gemeinsam, den Club der Atommächte so klein wie möglich zu halten.

In dieser Hinsicht sind sie den beiden größten amerikanischen Automobilherstellern, Ford und General Motors, nicht unähnlich. Sie sind Rivalen. Jeder würde den anderen erledigen, wenn er könnte. Wenn es darum geht, neue Märkte zu erschließen oder den anderen bezüglich neuer Modelle zu übertrifften, gehen sie bis an die Grenzen des gesetzlich Erlaubten. Aber sie haben auch gemeinsame Interessen. Sie tun sich zusammen, um in Washington die politische Linie und die Gesetzgebung zu unterstützen, die den Absatz von Automobilen steigern. Und sie arbeiten gemeinsam allem entgegen, was den Absatz stocken lassen könnte — wie z. B. Maßnahmen gegen die Umweltverschmutzung. Sie kooperieren.

Man sollte auch beachten, daß es in der Natur des Menschen liegt, daß die Reichen und Mächtigen gern mit Angehörigen ihrer eigenen Klasse Umgang pflegen. Die reichen Jachtbesitzer treffen sich in Palm Beach, Newport oder Monte Carlo. Genauso sind die ersten Männer der Supermächte außerordentlich aneinander interessiert. Wie seine Vorgänger erduldet Präsident Ford unbedeutende Fürsten oder Premierminister, wenn es sein muß, aber für einen Leonid Breschnjew oder einen Mao Tse-tung würde er seine Zeit unbegrenzt zur Verfügung stellen. Gleich und gleich gesellt sich gern. Supermächte, ganz gleich, wie weitgehend ihre Konflikte oder wie grundlegend ihre ideologischen Differenzen sind, haben miteinander wichtige Geschäfte abzuwickeln — und sie haben Freude daran. Für die Mächtigen ist es schwierig, nicht verächtlich auf die kleineren Staaten herabzublicken.

Die Sowjetunion wird diktatorisch regiert. In diesem Staat werden alle Bürger tyrannisiert, die russischen Minderheiten allerdings mehr als die dominierenden Russen. Die Freiheit von Letten, Esten und Litauern, von Usbeken und Kirgisen, von Tataren und Ukrainern ist dadurch ausgelöscht worden. Alle wären gern unabhängig von Moskau und von der Beherrschung durch die Russen, wenn sie könnten. Die Amerikaner haben eine Abneigung gegen Tyrannien, aber als Supermacht haben die Vereinigten Staaten mit der einzigen anderen Supermacht Geschäfte abzuwickeln. Das ist widersprüchlich — und wahrscheinlich notwendig.

Wie wunderbar ist es doch, zu wissen, daß das Gute immer gegenwärtig ist, auch wenn wir uns in einer mühsamen Lage befinden! Jede Minute kann von Gutem erfüllt sein, wenn wir es verständnisvoll anerkennen, es erwarten und für uns beanspruchen. Paulus schreibt: „Wir wissen aber, daß denen, die Gott lieben, alle Dinge zum Besten dienen.“ Gott, die göttliche Liebe, erfüllt allen Raum mit Gutem — selbst dort, wo das Böse sich geltend zu machen scheint.

Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft entdeckte und gründete, schreibt: „Das Gute fordert vom Menschen, daß er zu jeder Stunde das Problem des Seins ausarbeite.“¹ Mein Mann und ich beschlossen kürzlich, dies in die Tat umzusetzen, indem wir häufig unsere Gedanken prüften.

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fascinating. President Ford, like his predecessors, endures petty intrigues of prime ministers when he has to. But would devote unlimited time to a Leonid Brezhnev or a Mao Tse-tung. Birds of a feather do tend to flock together. Superpowers, no matter how broad their conflicts or how deep their ideological differences, have important business to transact with each other — and enjoy doing it. It is difficult for those with great power to avoid being contemptuous of those of little power.

The Soviet Union is a tyranny. It tyrannizes all its citizens. It tyrannizes ethnic minorities more heavily than the dominant Russians. It has stamped out the freedom of Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians, of Uzbeks and Kirghiz, of Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians. All would be free of Moscow, and of their Russian overlords, if they could.

Americans dislike tyranny, but the United States as a superpower has business to transact with the world's only other superpower. It is inconsistent. It is also human — and probably necessary.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Quelles sont nos pensées?

Qu'il est merveilleux de se rendre compte que même au milieu de ce qui semble être des circonstances adverses, le bien est toujours présent! Chaque minute peut être remplie de bien si nous le reconnaissons avec compréhension, si nous nous y attendons et le revendiquons pour nous-mêmes. Paul a écrit: « Toutes choses concourent au bien de ceux qui aiment Dieu. »¹ Dieu, l'Amour divin, remplit de bien tout espace, même là où le mal semble réclamer notre attention.

Mary Baker Eddy, qui a découvert et fondé la Science Chrétienne, écrit: « Le bien réclame de l'homme chaque heure de son temps pour résoudre le problème de l'être. »² Mon mari et moi avons décidé récemment de mettre cela en pratique en examinant fréquemment nos pensées.

Quelle ne fut pas notre surprise de voir le grand nombre d'idées fausses qui pouvaient s'infiltrer dans l'espace d'une heure seulement! L'impatience, l'orgueil, la critique, le ressassement des erreurs passées, la condamnation de soi. Mais dès que ces fausses suggestions se présentent à nous, nous pouvons nous tourner vers Dieu et remplacer les mauvaises pensées par de bonnes pensées et par l'exercice de qualités semblables à la nature du Christ, telles que la patience, l'humilité, l'amour, la compassion, le pardon. Quand on devient conscient que Dieu, l'Amour, est toujours présent, et qu'il n'y a nul autre pouvoir en dehors de Dieu, ceci n'est pas difficile.

Mon mari est gardien dans un grand entrepôt. Jour après jour, un certain homme le tracassait verbalement et un autre lui faisait des suggestions obscènes. Mais mon mari savait qu'en Dieu il pouvait trouver sa défense. A chaque instant il remplaçait dans sa pensée tout ce qui se présentait comme l'image d'un homme immoral, ou d'un

homme agressif, par l'homme spirituel, véritable, créé en tant que reflet de Dieu, exprimant uniquement l'intelligence et la bonté de son Créateur. Il savait que l'homme créé par Dieu — l'identité spirituelle, véritable de chacun de nous — est l'enfant de Dieu, qu'il aime et soutient et pour qui le bien seul est présent. Le mal est une fausse conception et n'a ni source ni pouvoir.

Dès le lendemain, toute l'atmosphère semblait changée. Les tracassements et suggestions cessèrent. L'Amour divin avait guéri la situation.

La Bible indique que la sagesse suprême de Dieu est la base de tout bien. L'Entendement divin nous communique le bien sans interruption, mais nous devrions y être réceptifs sous ses différentes formes. Les suggestions de péché, de maladie et de mort ne sont pas des pensées provenant de l'Entendement divin. Mrs. Eddy écrit en effet: « Christ Jésus vint pour sauver les hommes de telles pensées — toutes sans exception des inventions mortelles — grâce au bien toujours présent et éternel. »³

En examinant constamment nos pensées et en les corrigeant par la vérité curative de l'être spirituel, nous reconnaissons et acceptons plus facilement le bien qui nous entoure continuellement.

¹ Romains 8:28; ² Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures, p. 261; ³ Unité du Bien, p. 60.

⁴ Christian Science prononce "Christien" solennel

La traduction française de l'article d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, "Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures" de Mary Baker Eddy, paraît avec le texte original en anglais en juillet l'écrit dans les Salles de Lecture du 10, Street, Cambridge, ou le commandant à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

Pour toute renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrivez à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Was denken wir?

Wie wunderbar ist es doch, zu wissen, daß das Gute immer gegenwärtig ist, auch wenn wir uns in einer mühsamen Lage befinden! Jede Minute kann von Gutem erfüllt sein, wenn wir es verständnisvoll anerkennen, es erwarten und für uns beanspruchen. Paulus schreibt: „Wir wissen aber, daß denen, die Gott lieben, alle Dinge zum Besten dienen.“ Gott, die göttliche Liebe, erfüllt allen Raum mit Gutem — selbst dort, wo das Böse sich geltend zu machen scheint.

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ausdrückt. Mein Mann wußte, daß der von Gott geschaffene Mensch — das wirkliche, geistige Selbst eines jeden von uns — das geliebte Kind Gottes ist, das von Ihm versorgt wird und für das nur das Gute gegenwärtig ist. Das Böse ist ein falscher Begriff, es hat weder Ursprung noch Macht.

Schon am folgenden Tag war eine Veränderung der ganzen Atmosphäre zu spüren. Die Provokationen und Belästigungen hörten auf. Die göttliche Liebe hatte die Situation berichtigt.

Die Bibel weist darauf hin, daß alles Gute sich auf die allerbabene Weisheit Gottes gründet. Das göttliche Gemüt verleiht uns ständig Gutes, doch wir sollten für das Gute in seinen vielfältigen Formen empfänglich sein. Suggestionen von Sünde, Krankheit und Tod sind keine dem göttlichen Gemüt entstammenden Gedanken. Ja, Mrs. Eddy schreibt: „Christus Jesus kam, um die Menschen von solchen Gedanken — allesamt sterblichen Erfindungen — durch das immergegenwärtige und ewige Gute zu erlösen.“²

Wenn wir unsere Gedanken ständig prüfen und mit der heiligen Wahrheit des geistigen Seins berichtigen, werden wir das Gute, das uns dauernd umgibt, leichter erkennen und annehmen.

¹ Römer 8:28; ² Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 261; ³ Die Einheit des Guten, S. 59.

⁴ Christian Science spricht "Christien" solennel

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, "Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift" von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

Auflage über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erlöst auf Anfrage der Verlag: The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

Joseph C. Harsch

The superpower duet

To say that Americans and other Westerners are of two minds about "détente" is to utter a platitude. We are all familiar with the symptoms. People everywhere tend to think it's a good thing that Soviet and American astronauts have got together in outer space. But the same people who approve of this example of détente usually deplore many features of Soviet society and the Soviet way of life.

This conflict is puzzling and distressing. Should people living in free or relatively free societies fraternize in some ways with the Soviets while deploring their behavior in so many ways? Or should they boycott and isolate and ostracize as a way of expressing disapproval and in the hope (no matter how unrealistic) that it might cause the Soviet leopard to change its spots?

To those who are troubled over this conflict I would like to submit the following thoughts.

The United States and the Soviet Union are unique in the world today. They are superpowers. There is no other superpower, al-

though China and a possibly united Western Europe might someday become superpowers.

This condition is unusual though not unprecedented. Rome and Carthage were once superpowers in an otherwise powerless Eurasian world. Throughout most of history power has been plural rather than dual. When it is dual (only two) one will destroy the other as Rome destroyed Carthage or they will learn to coexist competitively as (later in ancient history) Rome coexisted with Parthia.

Today's two superpowers have been tempted to try to destroy each other. Individuals in both Washington and Moscow have considered the idea of a "preventive" nuclear strike at the other. "Total victory" has its advocates in both capitals today. But responsible opinion in both capitals has concluded that the price (loss of at least half of the population and most of the industrial fabric) is too high.

So they have come to enjoy a mutual interest in survival without nuclear war. This gives

them a secondary, mutual interest. Neither likes the idea of being blackmailed by a small country with nuclear weapons. Hence they join in trying to keep the nuclear club as small as possible.

In this respect they are not unlike the two biggest American automobile manufacturers — Ford and General Motors. They are rivals. Each would do the other in if it could. They compete to the limit of tolerance of the law in seeking markets and in trying to beat the other in new models. But they also have interests in common. They join to support policy or legislation in Washington which stimulates automobile sales. They join in resisting anything which might depress sales — such as anti-pollution measures. They cooperate.

Also note that in human nature the rich and powerful tend to associate with their own kind. The yacht-owning rich congregate at Palm Beach, Newport, or Monte Carlo. Just so the heads of superpowers find each other

Outside City Hall, Boston, Mass.

The new cap

By Pete Main; staff photographer



"Ghost Ranch Hills, Northern New Mexico" 1937: by Ansel Adams

A revelation of timelessness

Some photographs are more like paintings than photographs. Rather than supplying what we may be accustomed to from a photograph — the fleeting moment of time or place captured in a single image and calling forth an immediate response — they invite us to dwell on the formal qualities of shape, form, light, shadow and depth which we usually associate with a painting. In this kind of photograph, writes Van Deren Coke in "The Painter and the Photograph," "attention is divided between the way in which the forms are represented and the message the forms are meant to convey."

Ansel Adams' photographs are certainly these kinds of photographs. In monumental images of bouldering hills, frozen lakes, granite cliffs, sun and snow-lit peaks we find

From where it was first spoken

If there were caught even an intimation of what was given out from this small Mount

how all would be stopped mid-breath, mid-word! How all would be struck to a stillness more terrible to endure than bombs!

For nowhere — nowhere in that great shock — would there be found (for the tongue to adopt or the ear, corrupted, to fasten upon) a single mutilation of sound.

Only, in a shuddering hush, the power: still waiting here.

Doris Peck

ourselves quietly absorbed in the aesthetics of nature. Yet the presence of the photographer as artist is curiously absent. Instead, the dominating presence is that of place, the majestic and delicate earth-forms emerging as stirring symbols of the land. This creates another kind of immediacy — not the quick response to a familiar place, face or event that the documentary photograph evokes — but an immediacy which springs from a quickened sense of identification with the earth, that primitive bond with nature that most men feel when dominated by the

landscape. Far more than presenting nature as still-life then, Adams' images catch, in biographer Nancy Newhall's words, "the instant of revelation — of timelessness."

This objectivity is the outcome of Adams' feelings about photography and of what he thinks a photograph should be. "If I choose to photograph a rock," he says, "I must present a rock... the print must augment and enlarge the experience of a rock... stress tone and texture... yet never, under any conditions, dramatize the rock; nor suggest emotional con-

notations other than what is obviously associated with the rock.

... to photograph truthfully and effectively is to see beneath the surface. Art must reach further than impression of self-revelation. Art, said Alfred Stieglitz, is the affirmation of life. And life, or its eternal evidence, is everywhere. Some photographers take reality as sculptors take wood or stone and impose upon it the dominations of their own thought and spirit. Others come before reality more tenderly and a photograph to them is an instrument of love and revelation.

Thus, we have the paradox of the art photograph. While moving further and further away from self-conscious art intention, it comes closer and closer to "reality" or to "life" — which is really the aim of art. In a painting, art tends toward reality; in a photograph, through photographic vision (the photographer's special way of seeing life and "its eternal evidence") reality tends toward art.

This is really the only "message the forms are meant to convey." "Expression without doctrine," writes Adams, "my photographs are... ends in themselves. Images of the endless moments of the world."

Susan Littlewood

When the weather is clear in me

From somewhere tall with silence comes a sound like the reverse of thunder. Out of space, out of its silent wonder, still is wound an endless spiral of creation. Face whatever stars I will (or all, or none) — even by my hearth upon a moonless night — I sense a range of suns beyond our sun, a pattern drawn with galaxies of light. And every universe is like a sea with tidal nights and days by which I live to glimpse the reaches of infinity when weather's clear within me — views that give awareness of what marvels must exist beyond the most developed concepts of the human mind. And with these now I list (to lead the rest) the mystic reach of love.

Bonnie May Malody

On enduring

I remember taking a walk with John Burroughs, that very human naturalist, half a century ago. He had chosen to make his home in the Catskill Mountains in New York State. His daily outlook commanded a majestic view of the Hudson River Valley and the heights beyond. (Had it been possible, I should have made my home accessible to that magnificent outlook which stirred one to admiration in every direction.)

Presently Mr. Burroughs slapped his hand down on the rock on which we were sitting and exclaimed, "That lasts." I did not modify his exclamation by adding, "But only for a few million years." I was just free of college and had not the wit to ask the old naturalist why he was so delighted by the idea of durability.

But I know now; and understand perfectly why folk journey over half a hemisphere to view the Sphinx and the Pyramids. They are victorious lasters in a wilderness of change. They prop up the tent of time and remind us that people, very like ourselves, lived, ate breakfast, toiled at some available job, and went to an earned rest. We try to preserve the best of those items in our biographies, and histories, and replicas of environments. The past is nine-tenths of our riches if we use it properly.

For us humans, sculpture is a borrowed art. The elements were hard at it millennia ago. The Grand Canyon is one of nature's myriad masterpieces. But an identical miniature can be found in the nearest clay bank. How much we have lost by not discovering the camera a millennium or two earlier! What the art galleries would pay for a snapshot of Moses on that mountain top, or Joshua shouting the walls down!

I wonder why we adults take faces almost for granted. Certainly our colleges would have based many a course on an extensive view of the human countenance if photography had begun with the ancient Greeks. We could have profited beyond expectation and perhaps forestalled our system of wars — that is, if our race was really teachable, a fact not yet determined.

For we do take faces for granted. The

invention of the trolley car cheapened the sight. There one could study a dozen countenances daily. But it is impossible not to learn many things from such exposures. Someone said, quite gratuitously, that familiarity breeds contempt. I think it gives birth to wisdom, often to affection. Yet we scant the privilege of looking with intent to learn. Our difficulty is that we scant the opportunity of knowing our brothers and sisters thoroughly. Who collects smiles, let alone frowns? When we are offered the enduring, we probably glance at it, then pass on to the next sight without thought. We thrill at fireworks because they do not last. We encourage the evanescent to go faster. Yet it is the lasting that pays the larger dividend.

If I had a finger in curriculum-making I should offer courses on the durable. I would earn an impressive sum from a textbook which I would write entitled "That which lasts." Great art, for example, lifts us out of time, far above the desperation of any moment. The sculptor invites us into the vicinity of forever. He allows us to pause at the peak of our joy and take it in.

In some golden sunrise of our race we whispered, "forever." Though few could take in its prodigious meaning, we could not risk letting it go. So we invented symbols for that quintessential imagination. We sought to make something worthy of that venture and called it "inspired imagination." The artists came nearest to success. Michelangelo succeeded, and Milton, and Beethoven. Shakespeare succeeded in his way, in his anticipation of the lasting. The heights they reached suggest the lasting. They share in advance a touch of measureless peace.

Though members of our hurried race, sculptors have put that yearning into marble. The great statues wish you well. We are betrothed to the lasting in every art, and our poetry, our paintings, our religion carry a message of the eternal. In the depth of sorrow or on the peaks of joy we are reminded of our heritage: that which endures.

T. Morris Longstrech

Of note

When asked to read music? One answer I must tell, "Of course I read it, I just don't pronounce it very well."

Paul Armstrong

The Monitor's religious article

What are our thoughts?

Even in what appear to be adverse circumstances, how wonderful it is to realize that good is always present! Each minute can be filled with good if we understandingly acknowledge it, expect it, and claim it for our own. Paul wrote, "All things work together for good to them that love God." God, divine Love, fills all space with good — even where evil seems to be claiming attention.

Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, writes, "Good demands of man every hour, in which to work out the problem of being." Recently my husband and I decided to put this into practice by frequently checking our thoughts.

It was surprising to find how many false notions can creep in during just an hour! Impatience, pride, criticism, ruminating over past mistakes, self-condemnation. But we can, just as soon as these false suggestions come to us, turn to God and replace these bad thoughts with good ones, and with the exercise of Christlike qualities such as patience, humility, love, compassion, forgiveness. This is not difficult as one realizes that God, Love, is always present and that there is no other power besides God.

My husband works as a security guard in a large warehouse. Day after day he was verbally harassed by one man and offered lewd suggestions by another. But he knew he could find his defense in God. Hourly he replaced in his thought whatever appeared to be a picture of an immoral man, or an aggressive man, with the true, spiritual man created as God's reflection, expressing only the intelligence and goodness of his Maker. My husband knew that the man of God's creating — the real, spiritual selfhood of each of us — is a loved, sustained child of

God for whom only good is present. Evil is a misconception and has no source, no power.

The very next day the whole atmosphere seemed to change. The harassments and suggestions stopped. Divine Love had healed the situation.

The Bible indicates that God's supreme wisdom is the basis of all good. The divine Mind is continually imparting good to us, but we should be receptive to it in its various forms. Suggestions of sin, sickness, and death are not thoughts from divine Mind. Indeed, Mrs. Eddy writes, "From such thoughts — mortal inventions, one and all — Christ Jesus came to save men, through ever-present and eternal good."

By constantly examining our thoughts and by correcting them with the healing truth of spiritual being, we will more readily recognize and accept the good that continually surrounds us.

*Romans 8:28; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 261; †Unity of Good, p. 60.

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Margaret Taula

You cannot lose my love

no matter how fast you run deep you hide.
It will wait on a street corner
reading a newspaper
until you step off your bus.
When you find a fairy ring in the forest my love will be there sitting on a toadstool watching for you.

And all the while I will be here only here — no wind swift travel no airy absence mine.
But my love knows no limitations it is where you are!

OPINION

Erwin D. Canham

What's new in America?

Return to the United States after three months' absence raises the inevitable question: What has changed?

Well, the economy is better. The stock market is up, although that is a fallible and mercurial indicator. Industrial production is up. Inflation is less. The long-awaited recovery from recession seems tentatively under way. So far, so good.

President Ford is in a stronger position. The polls show his relative standing to have improved, notably since the Mayaguez incident. His remarkable success in getting vetoes sustained in Congress is matched by the failure of his energy program. Nevertheless, there seems to be a conservative, or anti-spending, tide flowing.

Congress is as ineffectively led as it was three months ago, maybe more so. The large Democratic majorities have not produced confident and coordinated control. Legislative ineptitude has rarely been more open and embarrassing than in the struggle over the New Hampshire Senate seat.

The presidential race for 1976 shows President Ford off to a start necessitated by the right-wing challenge from Ronald Reagan. Nevertheless, the President seems to be in pretty good shape, although his turn to a Georgian, Howard (Bo) Callaway, as campaign manager shows the increasing Republican reliance on conservative elements in the South. The Republican liberals, still potentially a strong cohort, don't get much attention from the White House.

The Democratic presidential hopefuls are almost as confused as they were in April, although Gov. George Wallace's position seems to be strengthened. His possible capture of the Democratic nomination, long described as unthinkable, now is being apprehensively discussed. His opponents are divided and flayed.

Beyond politics and economics, the American nation seems to be embarked upon its bicentennial in a mood which more than anything else ponders the values which have

been lost or damaged in national society. The luminous clarity of the Founding Fathers, the heroism of the struggle for freedom, the Spartan dedication of life in the young republic, are all in contrast to the self-indulgence and materialism of today.

There seems to be a reaching out, as yet rather groping, for something better. Just as students on the campuses, a year or two ago, swung away from revolt into a self-centered mood of study and concern about jobs, so national opinion — which may lag behind student opinion — now is in the same self-centered mood, sometimes resembling apathy.

Such a transitional mood could be succeeded by a demand for national reawakening. It is quite apparent that the welfare state does not adequately solve human problems. Governmental regulation of abuse has often turned into bureaucratic bumbling.

And, worst of all, the atrocious abuse of power in the name of national security —

notably the CIA — shows Americans what crimes secret power can commit.

There is no question of the need for national defense nor of military and political intelligence. But the nation is rudely reminded that all such efforts have to be responsibly and sensibly curbed by more than one control. Here Congress, which specifically had "watchdog" authority over the CIA, failed in its function.

Once more, in the bicentennial time, we are reminded that the Founding Fathers feared abuse of power more than anything else, and sought to curb it by setting up checks and balances.

Beyond governmental checks, however, beyond anything government can do, is the need for vigorous, alert, informed individual citizenship and private action. That begins in the family and the community. Perhaps an awareness of the need for individual awakening is growing.

Melvin Maddocks

The wizard of Futurology

"Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow, creeps in this petty pace from day to day." Not so, according to those party-liners of "It's later-than-you-think," the Futurologists, who believe that tomorrow is coming at us less like a pedestrian than a rocket.

Yes, we're back on that subject, this time in the person of Alvin Toffler, who will go down in history — excuse the unfuturist expression — as the Paul Revere of what's next by virtue of authoring the phrase that became a book: "Future Shock."

Mr. Toffler, we're happy to report, is the sort of Futurologist who stays at the Ritz. His dark business suit seems to say: "Here is a Futurologist that a conservative can trust," while his boots whisper sotto voce to the liberals: "But he's ready for change too, of course — if in good taste."

If we think of the Future as the Land of Oz, then Futurologists bouncing down the Yellow Brick Road might be divided into three types. The Cowardly Lions, otherwise known as the doomsayers, have seen the

Future, and it doesn't work. They incant the fatal and overlapping "if." If we find enough energy, which they doubt, we'll pollute the planet to oblivion. And even if we don't, we'll bury it under wall-to-wall people.

The Tin Woodsmen are the mystics who believe the Future depends upon having a heart — and changing it: abandoning the false gods of science and technology for ecstasy and transcendentalism.

The Scarecrows are the rationalists who believe that by thinking, by brain power, we can problem-solve the Future. Mr. Toffler may be the best-groomed Scarecrow around.

In his new book, "The Eco-Spasm Report" (Bantam, \$1.50), he acknowledges with the doomsayers that "industrial civilization" is cracking up and "incomprehensible dread" is abroad on the Yellow Brick Road. With the mystics, he acknowledges that we are moving into "a wholly new" world which cannot be understood by parallels to the past.

But, in person, Mr. Toffler exudes a relish for the Future that sends its own message. "Paradoxically, I find thinking about the Future stabilizing," he confesses.

He makes prospecting for the Future seem like the adventure of the times. Why go to Paris or even Tibet when you can trip to tomorrow?

Like most Americans with an enthusiasm (or a crisis), Mr. Toffler is a bit of an evangelist. Using phrases like "anticipatory democracy," he wants to get everybody out on the Yellow Brick Road with him, comprising a sort of town-meeting-on-the-move, voting on the Future.

"You don't have to be an expert to know what you want." This was the motto of a recent State of Washington study of future options, and it seems to be Mr. Toffler's too.

"We obviously need experts," he explains in earnest conversation. "But experts are very narrow people. They can't be trusted to make policy. They have disciplinary limits. They have territorial self-interest. Their careers, their egos are at stake. An energy expert, for instance, can't help seeing the future as an energy problem, and it isn't. It's so much more."

"I like the analogy of the eye. An expert focuses, looks deeply. But the layman performs the function of Peripheral vision."

"An awesome but exhilarating task" lies ahead, Mr. Toffler concludes. We anticipatory-democrats must "humanize technology" and "overhaul some of our creaking institutions" before E-Day (Eco-Spasm Day).

How? Well, that's another question. But let's scratch our sawdust heads, and take it one Ray-Bolger-step at a time.

Mr. Toffler is more human than the Cowardly Lions and the Tin Woodsmen — a nice Scarecrow who really doesn't want to future-shock anybody. Still, if you cherish old Italic script, your grandfather's Liddell-Scott Greek dictionary, and flowers pressed between the pages of "The Fannie Farmer Cookbook," he is not exactly your man. As we spun out the revolving door at the Ritz with the famous sign over it, "Not an Accredited Egress," the absurd and trivial question occurred to us: "Will there be Grand Old Hotels down that Yellow Brick Road?"

Revisiting the corridors of power

By Adam Yarmolinsky

In the years since I left Washington and government service, during the mid-'60s, I've been back there, I suppose, several hundred times, but surprisingly seldom to reenter the bureaucratic labyrinth. It was usually to attend a private committee meeting, a congressional hearing, or a conference either in a downtown hotel or in one of those semirural retreats that surround the nation's capital, or to visit a law office or a newspaper office or an old friend.

But recently I had occasion to call on a government official in an office at the end of one of those long corridors in one of those nearly identical government office buildings, and as I tried to retrace my steps out of the labyrinth, without Theseus' skein of thread to guide me, I began to retrace my thoughts about the locus of power.

Since I left Washington, I've changed a good deal. In fact every cell in my body has replaced itself, unless high school biology has itself been replaced by some new knowledge.

And Washington has changed, too. Instead of a President whose faults were as exaggerated as his virtues, there is a President whose deepest desire is distinctly smaller than life — to be like everybody else — and who seems to be achieving his desire.

There is an administration that is trying to undo most of the things that were done by the administration that was there when I left. And

there is a Congress that is trying — with very little success — to hang on to a lot of the things that I remember we had to fight to get them to let us do — like Medicare and Medicaid, and the poverty program, and aid to education.

I don't remember that Watergate had even been built when I left Washington, and when the President I left behind was mad at people, he didn't listen in on them when they were saying — he just shouted at them.

The end of American involvement in Viet-



nam was still more than six years away, but some of my colleagues in government still thought they could see the light at the end of the tunnel — and I don't think any of us had realized just how dark that tunnel was.

It is scary how easily we accommodate to things. I took it for granted that the war we were in had some point, as I took it for granted that the building I worked in had five sides.

Despite Vietnam, I also took it for granted that, with good will, all things were do-able —

although in self-defense I must add that I had already rejected the Pentagon slogan: "If you can do it, do it."

I suspect that people in Washington today are more concerned with what they can't do — most of them because they had been beaten on so much, and some of them because they've learned (I hope) that even beating on people doesn't get things done.

I had forgotten how long and narrow the corridors were, and how the people in the rooms off the corridors didn't bother to look out the windows much. These are not, I thought, the corridors of power that novelists (and columnists) write about. In fact, they look more like the corridors of impotence, and their perspective, narrowing into dimness, makes the people in them seem smaller, not bigger, than the people outside.

It struck me, in fact, that there is very little power in Washington these days. Not in the White House where the principal power seems to be the veto power. And not in the Congress either. I remembered going down to testify before a congressional committee a few months ago, and as I listened to the questions and comments from the committee bench I thought, "What these people feel most acutely is that they really can't do much about the problems they've asked me here to discuss."

A decade ago I believed that the seat of power was in Washington. Today, I recognize that there is still enormous power in Washington, measured in megatons and dollars, status and careers. But I think I've also discovered the power that matters has a more elusive quality, and is more dispersed than I realized seven years ago. The kind of power I value now is the power to arrange ideas, and pieces of the physical world, in ways that are interesting and pleasing, and even the power to challenge existing institutions, to be an agent of change for huge power structures that are preoccupied with survival.

It had not occurred to me 10 years ago that Rosa Parks (whose arrest led to the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1955) was a more powerful person in the civil-rights movement than Lyndon Johnson.

When I came out of that government office building the other day, Washington was still very much alive even in the dead heat: green and leafy, and bright with Lady Bird's flower beds. The streets were wide, even if the corridors aren't, and the people on the streets smile more than the people in the corridors.

But I was glad to get on the plane to come back home.

Mr. Yarmolinsky, who served in the Defense Department during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, is a rabbi. He is also a professor of religion at the University of Massachusetts.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

China's long reach into Europe

Little noticed in the whirlpool of Portuguese politics of recent days is the existence in Portugal of a small Communist Party with ties to China. Its leaders have been in China. It disagrees with the official, Moscow-oriented Communist Party, the PCP. In the tug of war between the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and the Socialists, in which the PCP backed the MFA, the China-linked group, the Alliance of Workers and Peasants (AOC), has supported the Socialists.

The existence of this anti-Moscow, pro-Peking movement in Lisbon may or may not influence the course of political events in Portugal. But it is one, if perhaps small, symptom of China's rising interest in affairs in Western Europe. And China is not only interested. It also is playing a hand in European affairs whenever and wherever it can.

Peking's resources in Europe are not yet impressive. Communist parties with Peking ties are usually small and not yet of serious weight. Not all communist groups who call themselves Maoist are associated with the Chinese Government. But Peking does have its eyes and ears in small splinter groups on

the streets of most European cities, and it is cultivating official relations at the top with the governments of Western Europe.

Already, China has official diplomatic relations with every country in Western Europe except for Portugal and Ireland. And it is working on the relationship with Portugal which is complicated by the problem of future control of the Portuguese territory of Macao, south of Hong Kong. The Portuguese want to get rid of it. It seems that Peking would prefer to have it remain for the time being a nominal Portuguese colony — to the surprise of the Portuguese.

Also, China has opened official relations with the European Community (Common Market). The only other communist country to have such relations is Yugoslavia.

In economic affairs Western Europe now is China's third most important trading partner. The first two are Japan and Hong Kong.

The past six months have seen a parade of Western European political leaders going to and coming from Peking. Preference has been given to those who favor West European

unity and exhibit skepticism about "detente" with the Soviet Union. Willy Brandt has been ignored, but German opposition leaders who criticized Mr. Brandt's detente policy have been welcomed in Peking. Britain's opposition party leader, Edward Heath, was given full red-carpet treatment in Peking as his reward for favoring British membership in the Common Market. Prime Minister Harold Wilson has been given cool and critical treatment in the Chinese press beginning with his visit to Moscow in February.

The Chinese hand in European affairs is seen in the current fact that there will be one empty chair at Helsinki at the end of this month when East and West Europeans meet to sign the so-called European security document. Everyone will be there — except for Albania which is a loyal friend and client of China. Albania will have no part in any deal which smooths and eases relations between Western and Eastern Europe. China, and its friends, particularly disapprove of detente which they see as foolish blindness to the menace of Soviet imperialism.

The Chinese hand was first noticed in European affairs when Prime Minister Chou

En-lai visited Poland immediately after the Soviet suppression of freedom in Hungary in 1956. Soviet troops had been maneuvering in Poland and it seemed possible that they would seize Warsaw and overthrow the Gomulka regime. The Chou visit seemed to act as a brake on Soviet hostility to that regime.

China's interest in Europe has been continuous ever since but on nothing like the present scale. Today, China plays a quiet but positive role in Europe. It does what it can to thwart the purposes of Moscow and to encourage the concept of a strong and independent Western Europe.

It would be ironic if the long hand of Peking, stretching halfway around the world, helped in thwarting the pro-Moscow communists in Portugal. Undoubtedly, Peking would if it could.

Probably China's street agent in Portugal, the AOC, is outgunned by Moscow's agent, the PCP. But there is a Chinese spoon in the Portuguese political pot. If Moscow's purposes fail, as they still well may, the Chinese will have been in there working alongside every other person who has reason to try to keep Moscow from getting control of Portugal.

How will joint flight benefit earth?

By David F. Salisbury
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johnson Space Center, Houston
In a world facing shortages of food and energy, there are many people who feel that space is a fruitless frontier. But there is a very real possibility that bits and pieces of the solutions to these problems will come from the hardware and vision which has proceeded from space exploration — and will continue to do so.

As some NASA scientists have estimated, even if the space program did nothing more than make an accurate five-day weather forecast possible, it would pay for itself many times over.

The amount of food lost each year from unseasonable rain, hail, and frost is monumental, much of this could be saved with better weather prediction.

And if the spirit of diplomatic detente on earth is advanced by current and future space cooperation between the two superpowers, other benefits would follow. It is just possible that the cooperation might lead to less expense on both sides for expensive armaments.

And it is perhaps rather more possible that cooperation can lead to avoiding the enormous duplication that has necessarily occurred as the U.S. and the Soviet Union have pursued their separate space programs.

The United States has spent \$57 billion on space programs to date. There is no way to measure the Soviet effort in equivalent terms, but it must be about as great.

Because the problems of strong-arming payloads into orbit, protecting men from the vacuum of space, or reaching the

planets are the same no matter who attempts them, much of the research and development must have been essentially the same. Political realities made this inevitable.

But the direction that the two space programs have taken in recent years makes cooperation potentially very beneficial.

The Soviets seem to be focusing their efforts on manned space stations in orbit. The United States has concentrated on the space shuttle, a transportation system designed to inexpensively boost payloads into orbit.

With the docking gear being tested on this mission the shuttle could pick up with the Soviet space station. If NASA economics are right, the shuttle would be the least expensive way for the Soviets to supply

their orbiting stations and increased business for the shuttle would help reduce its cost per flight.

Meaningful cooperation between the two space powers can only result in greater returns to both nations, and the entire world.

This is what the U.S. space agency, with its commitment to space and its pinched budget, is earnestly working for. Of course, NASA officials also realize that international space commitments can help stabilize and perhaps even bolster U.S. space expenditures.

Since 1970 the Soviet Union has also appeared to take the idea of space cooperation seriously. However it has done so while emphasizing that this must be on the basis of national programs, not by "supranational programs" where their sovereignty might be compromised.

Charles W. Yost

Yearnings in Jerusalem

The prevailing mood in Israel continues to be one of profound mistrust of Arab goodwill, Arab intentions, and Arab good faith. Moreover, few Israelis have confidence in guarantees from the United Nations, the Soviet Union, or even, though its support is considered essential, the United States. No reliable alternative to "secure boundaries" and Israel's present military superiority is perceived in any near future.

These are the salient impressions emerging from conversations last week with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, Defense Minister Shimon Peres, Abba Eban, former Foreign Minister, Menachem Begin, leader of the Likud, and numerous others.

There are many differences of emphasis, of strategy, and disposition among them, but all share the same deep-rooted skepticism and caution, the same fear that a few false moves could jeopardize or lose all that a generation has won since 1948.

If an interim agreement for a further withdrawal in Sinai is accepted, as seems likely at this writing, it will not be because most Israelis perceive it as advantageous or even fair, but because the United States considers it so.

Israelis believe they will be giving up territory useful to their defense, and old fields now providing half their needs, in exchange for Egyptian verbal assurances given within

the context of a continuing state of war and subject to revocation at any time.

Many in and out of the government would have preferred to reject such terms. It has become clear since March, however, that to do so would seriously weaken, perhaps even fatally undermine, the absolutely indispensable support of the U.S.

Some Israelis claim that they are being required to sacrifice their interests in order that the U.S. may strengthen its position in the Arab world. But the majority nevertheless feels it has little choice when confronted by the alternative of sacrificing, on the one hand, useful but not vital territory in the Sinai and, on the other, risking the wrath of a determined American administration.

Israeli leaders, moreover, have no illusion that this partial agreement with Egypt will satisfy the Syrians, the Jordanians, the Palestinians, and other Arabs, or give Israel more than a very brief respite.

The Israelis are for the most part unwilling to contemplate another withdrawal on the Golan Heights before a comprehensive and definitive settlement. Indeed, a survey which I made of topography on the ground there makes clear that an evacuation of the hills the Israelis now occupy overlooking Kuneitra would leave them no tenable military position whatsoever on the heights.

Most Israelis seem willing, therefore, since they realize the other Arabs cannot be ignored — to go to a resumed Geneva

conference in the fairly near future. Most hope it will meet later rather than sooner, and assume it will go on a very long time. Many expect it to degenerate into a mini-UN assembly, with most of what business it does being done elsewhere than in Geneva. But most would probably be ready to go — if the Palestine Liberation Organization is not represented there.

There seems to be an almost unanimous conviction that it would be impossible to live next to a state dominated by the PLO. A Palestine state associated with Jordan, or led by moderates explicitly recognizing the existence of Israel, most Israelis would probably admit, is eventually inescapable.

But a state led by those publicly committed to the destruction of Israel, by those responsible for such acts of indiscriminate terror as that in Jerusalem on July 4 — that seems to them intolerable. Even if Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, should "recognize" them, they remain convinced he would soon be assassinated or superseded by others even more irreconcilable.

When one probes deeper into the underlying factors obstructing a general peace, one encounters three. First is the old contradiction between the Arab demand for total withdrawal to the 1967 lines and the Israeli demand for secure boundaries, which most Israelis do not consider the 1967 lines to be. Second is the Israeli insistence on some tangible demonstrations of Arab acceptance

and recognition (face-to-face negotiations, an end to boycott and hostile propaganda, freer movement of persons) to test Arab goodwill before a final peace is made — in contrast with Arab insistence that those steps can only follow, not precede, a final peace.

Third is that, with which this article began: the profound mistrust which pervades and constrains both sides but which is particularly intense among the Israelis, with their memories of ghettos, anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust; their feeling of vulnerability because of the narrow confines of their state; their sense of isolation because of growing indifference or hostility in the international community.

So their relationship to the U.S. cannot help but be the rock — or the shifting sands, depending on how one sees it — on which their security rests. Many resent this dependence and hope eventually to escape from it, but all recognize it is inescapable for some time to come.

Out of all these disparate elements, tangible and intangible, are compounded the yearning for acceptance and peace, the abiding fear of destruction, the firm resolution to stand alone if necessary — and to survive — which still define the personality of Israel in its 28th year.

The author of this article writes from a background of 40 years as a United States diplomat.

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